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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

MORAL EDUCATION IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE: ITS DEVELOPMENT, THEORY AND PRACTICE IN ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOLS: 1509-1559

BY

© RONALD FERGUSON

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION.

IN

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersign certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled MORAL EDUCATION IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE: ITS DEVELOPMENT, THEORY AND PRACTICE IN ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOLS: 1509-1559 submitted by RONALD FERGUSON in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION in HISTORY OF EDUCATION.

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ABSTRACT

The teaching of morals has long been an integral part of education. Instilling accepted societal values into students for the purpose of creating better individuals and a better society has been a fundamental ingredient of schooling. The following study examines the development, theory and practice of moral education during the first half of the English Renaissance.

This is a particularly fascinating period because of the political, social and religious changes that were taking place throughout Europe as a result of the Reformation. This study traces the developments that influenced the rise of the English Renaissance as well as detailing the educational philosophy of moral education exposed by the Christian humanists, particularly Erasmus and John Colet. In addition, consideration is given to the grammar school statutes which focused on various aspects of moral education as well as those that regulated the lives of teachers and students.

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INTRODUCTION

Renaissance is a French word that means rebirth.[1] The Renaissance was a rebirth of a broad cultural and literary movement beginning in the fourteenth century which focused on the classical period in history.[2] There was a renewed interest in learning which was stimulated by the rediscovery of ancient Greek and Roman literature. Both pagan and Christian literature were equally popular among the Renaissance scholars.[3]

A word that is closely associated with the Renaissance is humanist (or humanism). The term "humanist" has a variety of meanings today. However, the definition of humanist during the Renaissance had a clear occupational meaning.[4] During the fourteenth century "humanist" was a word used to describe a teacher who taught the traditional subjects of grammar, rhetoric and poetry in Italian universities.[5]

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[1] The prefix re means again and naissance comes from the Latin nascentia which means birth. The World Book Dictionary Vol. 2, World Book Inc., Chicago, 1987, p.1769.

[2] Kristeller, Paul O. Renaissance Thought and Its Sources. Michael Mooney (ed). New York: Columbia University Press, 1979, p. 31 The dates of the Classical period range from about 450 B.C. to as late as 600 A.D.

[3] Bolgar, R. R. (ed). Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 199.

[4] Edwards, Paul (ed). The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Volume 7. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. & The Free Press, 1967 (Reprint 1972), p. 176.

[5] Ibid.

Looking back on this period DeMolen asserts that Italian humanism put man at the center of active enquiry.[6] The emphasis of humanistic enquiry centred on five interrelated disciplines: grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy;[7] while the content for the studies were based on classical Roman and Greek writers. In the most general and genuine sense the goal of the Italian humanists was education for practical and worthy living.[8]

Renaissance humanism can be characterized by its emphasis on the dignity and autonomy of the individual.[9] Humanists promoted the idea of the dignity of man and attempted to instill a recognition that man intrinsically had potential for good. Pico della Mirandola's Oration on the dignity of Man written in the second half of the fifteenth century clearly denotes the elevated status of man:

> Then the Supreme Maker decreed that unto man, on whom he would bestow nought singular, should belong in common whatsoever had been given to his other creatures. Therefore he took man, and having placed him in the center of the world, spake to him thus: 'Neither a fixed abode, nor a form in thine own likeness, nor any gift peculiar to thyself alone, O Adam, in order that what abode, what likeness, what gifts thou shall choose, may be thine to have and possess. The nature allotted to all other creatures, within laws made by ourselves restrains them. Thou, restrained by no narrow bounds, according to thy own free will, in whose power I have placed thee, shall define thy nature for thyself. Thou shalt have power to decline unto the lower or brute creatures. Thou shalt have power to be reborn unto the higher, or divine, according to the sentence of thy intellect.' Thus to man, at his

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[6] DeMolen, R. L. The Meaning of the Renaissance and Reformation. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974, p. 38.

[7] Ibid., p. 40.

[8] Ibid., p. 38.

> birth, the Father gave seeds of all variety and germs of every form of life.[9]

The emphasis on the potential for man to do good by virtue of his knowledge is an important ingredient in the humanists' conception of moral philosophy. This topic will be considered in greater length later in this chapter.

One consequence of the other dominant characteristic, autonomy, was the tendency to promote personal development and individual expression rather than submission to an authority.[10] This not only led to the erosion of traditional authority but it also allowed man to gravitate to the center of intellectual inquiry. Thus it is not surprising that "the Humanists took themselves very seriously, and they thought all their ideas were worth recording."[11] A further development was a growing confidence in man's potential to solve his own problems.

Education became a valuable means for the acquisition of the knowledge needed for personal development, especially the classical literature of Greece and Rome which seems to have inspired great optimism about human nature and what man could accomplish. A goal of classical studies was "to awaken in man a consciousness of his own powers, to give him confidence in himself, to show him the beauty of the world and joy of life, and to make him feel his living connection with the past and the greatness of the future he might create."[12]

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[9] Artz, Frederick. *Renaissance Humanism 1300-1550*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1966, p. 88.

[10] Graves, F. P. *A History of Education During the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916, p. 130.

[11] Artz, op. cit., p. 89.

[12] Cubberly, E. P. *The History of Education*. Houghton and Mifflin & Company, 1920, p. 279.

The foundation for creating a better world was to have an education which included moral training. Here again the humanists turned to ancient authors to provide models for virtuous living. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the development, theory and practical application of moral education in English grammar schools during the English Renaissance.

In order to better understand the nature of moral education in English grammar schools one needs to examine the factors which contributed to its rise. Therefore, chapter one will explore the rise of the Italian Renaissance and its influence on English humanism and moral education. This discussion is limited to Italian humanism and will not examine the developments within German humanism because the latter is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Chapter two will concentrate on the spread of humanism to England by discussing some of the people and ideas that shaped moral education in that country. The more practical aspects of moral education in English grammar schools will be addressed in chapters three and four. Chapter three will focus on an examination of the curriculum used in the grammar schools while chapter four will focus on the school statutes and their influence on moral practice in the schools.

CHAPTER ONE

The Rise of the Italian Renaissance: The Foundation for English Humanism and Its Contribution to Moral Education

Medieval Background

The emergence of the Italian Renaissance did not take place suddenly. The soil, out of which the Renaissance budded, was being tilled for several centuries. Therefore, before exploring in greater detail the implications of Renaissance humanism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy, a brief discussion on the medieval period is important. The purpose of this overview is to highlight some of the high points of the medieval period and the richness of its culture and to provide a historical context for the Italian Renaissance. It is also important to note that the following examples reinforce the dynamic nature of history and the difficulty in neatly dividing history into indigenous eras. Thus any generalizations of a particular period inherently contain exceptions and may oversimplify the complexities that exist.

There are conflicting interpretations of the medieval period by historians and scholars. Erasmus saw a decline in religion and learning from the time of the last classical writers and Church Fathers to the revival of the classics in the fourteenth century. He singled out the medieval educational system as a major accomplice in this decline.[1] Protestant Reformers also construed this period as a degenerate age due to the corrupt influence of the Roman Church. They believed the Popes and the popularity of scholasticism caused people to live in "barbaric ignorance, superstition, and spiritual sloth."[2]

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[1] Ferguson, W. K. Renaissance Studies. London, Ont.: Humanities Department of University of Western Ontario, 1963, p. 19.

In contrast to these views there are those who have interpreted the medieval period in a more positive light. Artz notes that there was a revival of learning late in the first millennium A.D. Even though this period had its dark moments due to the barbaric nature of the Vikings. The Carolingian Renaissance of the eighth and ninth centuries "laid great emphasis on improving the teaching of grammar and rhetoric, thus trying to raise the level of Latin composition."[3] Granted, the primary purpose for learning Latin was to promote the reading of the Bible and the Church Fathers and to administer ecclesiastical affairs.[4] Furthermore the scholars were more interested in literary studies and the reading of Virgil and Cicero in order to imitate their style as opposed to considering the philosophical implications of what these authors were writing.[5] Nevertheless this was still a revival and could be seen as a bright spot in the Dark Ages. Both Haskins and Artz note that three centuries later a second pre-Renaissance revival had flourished. During the twelfth century there were people like Berenger and Abelard who taught their disciples that "no book should be censured and that reason should always be heard."[6]

Even though periods of literary revival surfaced, there were clergy who did not enthusiastically endorse classical studies. Some of these churchmen believed that all secular literature was suspect and said, "pagan literature could only be made safe by prudent excisions: was not an Israelite forbidden to marry a heathen captive, however desirable, unless she first shaved her head and pared her nails?"[7]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Artz, Frederick. Renaissance Humanism 1300-1550. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1966. p. 3.

[4] Ibid., p. 4.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Trevor-Roper, Hugh. The Rise of Christian Europe. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965, p. 140.

During the later medieval period Kristeller cites several positive advances in learning. There was a noticeable advance and expansion of thought and learning due to an increase in the reading and imitation of Roman poets and the expansion in the study of rhetoric, law and medicine.[8] Another benefit in learning during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "produced many Latin translations from the Greek and Arabic which greatly added to the available source materials, especially in the sciences, the pseudo-sciences and in philosophy."[9] This was further aided in the early thirteenth century with the rise of new institutions of higher learning which were more organized in their administrative and teaching structures.[10]

Stepping outside the boundaries of education, Ferguson identifies the feudal system and the universal Church as two essential elements in medieval civilization.[11] The feudal system consisted mainly of a rural-agrarian society in which currency was not needed. The Church invaded all aspects of individual and societal life: royalty, nobles, and peasants. The Church taught Her parishioners to use this life to prepare themselves for the life to come.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Kristeller, Paul O. Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters. Roma: Edizioni Di Staria E Letteratura, 1956, p. 20.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 28.

Among the more prominent advancements in the high middle ages which fostered a better quality of life were the expanded trade with the East and technological improvements in farming.

> In the twelfth century large-scale trade between West and East became possible again for the first time since the 'fall' of Rome. The Christian conquest of Spain, Sicily, and parts of the Mediterranean Sea and brought gold and other kinds of booty to the upper classes of Western Europe.[12]

Some of the improvements in farming techniques included the use of windmills, the implementation of draught animals to replace humans to pull farm machinery and the emergence of iron plows. These advancements created agricultural surpluses which stimulated trade.[13] Thus taken as a whole, there is much evidence which suggests that advancements were taking place during the middle ages which aided the rise of the Renaissance.

Factors Contributing to the Rise of the Italian Renaissance

The fertile soil of northern Italy provided a favourable environment for the intellectual and cultural seeds of Renaissance humanism to germinate and grow. There were a number of factors, economic, political, intellectual and religious, which when combined prepared and nourished the soil. None of these factors, functioning independently, could have been enough to provide the needed nourishment for the Renaissance to flourish. However, the synergetic effect of all these factors working in unison provided the necessary environment for the flowering of the Renaissance.

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[12] Tannenbaum, Edward R. European Civilization Since the Middle Ages. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1971, p. 23. Tannenbaum designates the eleventh to thirteenth centuries as the high Middle Ages.

[13] Ibid., p. 20.

The soil of northern Italy was so well prepared for the Renaissance that not even the inter-city wars which characterized the north during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries[14] were enough to deter its rise. The following are a representative sample of some of the factors which contributed to the rise of the Italian Renaissance.

In Florence, ancient literature grew in popularity because the application of classical wisdom was credited with solving some of the city's problems. Some of the intellectual leaders[15] in the city were concerned with its political and economic plight. In searching for some answers they "turned to the historical precepts of the past for a solution to their problems and some insight into the destiny of man."[16] Using Cicero's ancient philosophy, they constructed a political philosophy which they were able to apply in 1343 by entering into an alliance with a foe as opposed to subsuming them.[17] "This was the first outward expression of the Ciceronian idea that 'men must dedicate their lives to civic virtues in order to lead the good life....'"[18] A favourable solution was reached and many leaders attributed the success to the application of the wisdom of the Ancients. Nearly a half-century later Florence again dodged a conflict with Milan, and again the good fortune was attributed to its civic virtues and republican constitution.[19] These events bolstered faith in the value of the classics and stimulated an interest in philosophy, history, art and classical education. The growing fascination with the classics encouraged the budding of a "new" view of man.

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[14] Green, V. H. H. Renaissance and Reformation: A Survey of European History between 1450-1660, 2nd. ed. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1964, p. 31. Many of the developments that will be discussed had their genesis in the Middle Ages.

[15] These would include Salutati, Bruni, and Poggio.

[16] DeMolen, Richard (ed). The Meaning of the Renaissance and Reformation. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974, p. 6.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

Another factor was the changing nature of the economic system. In northern Italy the medieval feudal system slowly gave way to the rise of city-states, which in the early Renaissance period were often engaged in inter-state conflicts. Traditionally, these conflicts would decimate the economy because of the scarcity of currency in circulation, and the limited currency that was available was used by the feudal lords to finance their armies. Now, however, economic depression due to armed conflict was averted because of the rise of commerce and industry which facilitated the growth of towns and the implementation of a money based economy.[20] Industrialization spawned a wealthy upper class, who demanded luxury goods to complement their increased standard of living.

An economic advantage of a wealthy upper class was their patronage of scholars and artists. Leading families, like the Medicis, gave financial support to humanists, whose voices were influencing public opinion. This not only provided the humanists with the means they needed to pursue their work, but it also elevated the patron's status in the community because they "saw in the patronage of art and letters a means to their own glorification."[21]

The pursuit of personal wealth and the desire for material possessions represents a radical shift from the

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 28.

[21] Green, op. cit., p. 31.

"other worldliness" which characterized medieval times. The embracing of affluence was in conflict with the medieval virtue of poverty. This controversy was short lived because "the wealthy upper classes of the Italian cities had by the fourteenth century achieved sufficient cultural maturity and self confidence to be ready to seek a culture suited to their peculiar needs."[22] Ferguson notes that such a culture existed in classical Roman times:

> The literature of Roman and Greek antiquity was the product of a wealthy, aristocratic, secular, and predominantly urban society, a society in which the citizen's life was set in the framework of a non-feudal state; a society, in short, in which the upper class of the Italian city-states could easily imagine themselves at home.[23]

Applying a classical world view the upper class could view material possessions as legitimate, pursue worldly success and strive for glory as a worthy end for man.[24]

On the religious front, there was growing discontent with the Church due to the widespread practices of nepotism, simony, pluralism, and the granting of pardons. The Great Schism (c.1378) provided additional motivation for disgruntlement among church members, and illustrated the growing scepticism of the people towards Papal authority. It began when Urban VI became the Pope after the death of Gregory XI (1378). The new Pope, a reformer, was tactless, obstinate and quick-tempered and soon antagonized the cardinals. The French, who dominated the college of cardinals declared the Pope's election had been obtained under duress from the Romans, who wanted a Roman to be the next Pope, and they concluded that since they elected him as Pope they felt they could also depose him. Acting on this belief, the French majority in the college of cardinals declared the post vacant and proceeded to elect another Pope. They elected a Frenchman who took the title of Clement VII. He and the cardinals settled in Avignon. Urban VI refused to recognize the action which was taken and therefore appointed a new group of cardinals but without deposing the old. People sided with either Urban VI or Clement VII on a nationalistic basis.[25] This schism surely must have shaken the peoples' confidence and weakened their allegiance to the Church. After all, if the Pope is a direct successor of the Apostle Peter and holds the 'keys to the kingdom', and there is only one set of keys, then the people would be in a quandary as to which Pope had the 'real keys'. This would be a perplexing dilemma for the people because if they wanted to get to heaven they had better choose the Pope with the legitimate set of keys.

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[22] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 94.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Artz, op. cit., p. 12.

There were many factors that influenced the rise of the Italian Renaissance. The above examples represent only a brief overview of some of the significant ingredients that helped to create a favourable environment for its growth.

Influential People and Contributions to the Renaissance

There were a number of people who also made positive contributions to the advancement of humanism. A familiarity with some of the chief personalities in the Italian Renaissance and some of the contributions made to education will acquaint the reader with the spirit of the age. Although the Renaissance took over a hundred years to reach

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[25] See Latourette, K.S. A History of Christianity, Beginnings to 1500 Vol. 1, pp.627-629, for a detailed account of the Great Schism.

England, it still was directly influenced by Italian humanists. Therefore brief attention needs to be given to the birthplace of the Renaissance.

The first dominant figure was Petrarch (1304-1374) who is described as "the morning star of the Renaissance" and is given the distinction of being the first modern scholar.[26] He is also regarded as the 'father of humanism'.[27] Petrarch's pursuit of humanistic studies began with the reading of Cicero as a child. His preference as an university student was to study the classics. However his father's ambition for his son was to study law and thus prepare him for a career that would offer financial prosperity as opposed to literary prestige. Bowing to his father's will Petrarch half-heatedly studied law for seven years. Three of those years were spent in Bologna where, for the first time, he was sequestered from his father's watchful eye. As a consequence his study of jurisprudence somewhat languished.[28] In Petrarch's own evaluation of those years: "I spent, or rather wasted, seven years; and if I must say the truth, disgusted with my legal studies, I spent my time mostly reading Cicero, Virgil, and the other poets."[29] His enthusiasm for classical literature dominated the rest of his life.

From 1341 till his death, Petrarch spent most of his time in Italy where "he devoted himself with a sort of passionate eagerness to the enterprise of seeking out copies of the neglected classics."[30] He travelled to monasteries in order to hunt for information which would give him insights into the past. His diligence was rewarded. At the age of twenty-nine he made his first great discovery at Liege where he unearthed two previously unknown orations of Cicero. Twelve years latter at Verona he found half of one of the letters of Cicero which had been lost for ages. In a true demonstration of scholarship, Petrarch not only collected manuscripts, but he also dedicated himself to making copies in order to advance humanistic erudition. Petrarch's accomplishments extended beyond collecting and transcribing classical manuscripts. He also composed sonnets, ballads, lyrics, and letters in the classical style. At the age of thirty-six he became the poet laureate at the University of Rome.

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[26] Cubberly, op. cit., p. 243. A more detailed treatment of Petrarch is given in the pages cited.

[27] Charlton, Kenneth. Education in Renaissance England. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 23.

[28] Drane, A. T. Christian Schools and Scholars. London: Burns and Oates, 1881. Xerox Copy, Ann Arbour, Mich., University Microfilms, 1972, p. 518.

[29] Ibid.

According to Charlton, Petrarch represents an earlier school of thinking in the Italian Renaissance.[31] He promoted, "the life of recluse as the only way by which true knowledge might be attained."[32] This is not to be confused with the ascetic life of solitude but, "was rather one of aesthetic fastidiousness, of peaceful retreat from the cares of the busy world, away from noise, ignorance and insensibility of the common herd."[33] Followers of Petrarch, "moved from court to court, making virtue of their poverty and of their indifference to an unappreciative world."[34]

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[30] Ibid., p. 519.

[31] Charlton, op. cit., p.23.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., p.24.

[34] Ibid.

The significance of Petrarch's contributions to the Renaissance include the recognition that he was the "the first to inaugurate a vast intellectual revolution, and the restoration of classical studies, [which were] carried on in the following century by Poggio and his contemporaries."[35] He advanced humanistic studies through his discoveries of manuscripts and his devotion to the study and imitation of the style of Latin and Greek authors.

Leonardo di Ceccho Bruni d'Arezzo (1370-1444) was another key figure in the Italian Renaissance who associated with an influential circle of humanists.[36] He "stands between Petrarch who had shown the way ahead, and Politian and Erasmus in whose writings Neo-Latin literature reached its height."[37] In addition to Bruni's strategic link between Petrarch and Erasmus, he also made a number of important contributions to humanistic scholarship and moral philosophy. In the spirit of the Renaissance, Bruni pursued the study of Greek and became a distinguished Greek scholar while under the tutelage of Manuel Chrysoloras.[38] After this, he took a leading role in translating Greek literature into Latin[39] modelled on the Latin prose of Cicero.[40] As a result of his translation efforts, he became "actively aware of periodization in cultural history."[41] The division of history into the ancient, medieval, and modern periods originated with Bruni.[42] He also augmented the field of historiography through his research into the lives of Roman emperors and heros of the of the republic in an attempt to separate historical facts from legend.

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[35] Drane, op. cit., p. 522.

[36] The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts. Translations and introductions by Griffiths, Gordon; Hankins, James; and Thompson, David. Vol. 46, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies. Binghamton, N.Y.: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies State University of New York at Binghamtom, 1987, p. 9. Members of this circle include teachers such as Vittorino da Felte, Gasparino Barizizza, and Guarino Veronese; book-hunters like Piggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Aurispa, and Cencio de' Rustici; and writers and translators like Ambrogio Traversari, Franceso Barbaro, Rinuccio Aretino, and Pier Candido Decembrio.

[37] Ibid. Erasmus will be discussed in detail in chapter two, along with John Colet and Sir Thomas More, who were a puissance group in the English Renaissance.

[38] Chrysoloras, A Byzantine scholar who in 1396 held the first chair of Greek Letters in the West at the university in Florence. He is credited with creating an enthusiasm for the study of Greek in the West. Cubberly,

Like Cicero, Bruni was both a statesman and a man of letters. Hans Baron described such men as "civic humanists".[43] These men affirmed the active pursuit of secular life, which included the accumulation of wealth, provided "it was done in accordance with ethical principles."[44] Civic humanism, in contrast to Petrarch's philosophical beliefs, consisted of an Aristotelian concept of man which believed, "man was by nature a social animal,"[45] and, "growth to full stature required social activity and responsibility."[46] According to Charlton:

> Bruni well recognized that 'the life of retirement is easier and safer and at the same time less burdensome or troublesome to others (nevertheless)

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op. cit., p.248.

[39] The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts, op. cit., p. 9.

[40] Ibid., p. 10.

[41] Ibid., p. 11.

[42] Ibid., p. 12.

[43] Ibid., p. 15.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Charlton, op. cit., p.26. Emphasis in the original.

[46] Ibid.

> the career of those who apply themselves to statecraft and conducting great enterprises is more profitable to mankind and contributes more to their own greatness and renown'. None more than Cicero had realized the importance of letters and philosophy, yet 'to be drawn by study away from the active life is contrary to moral duty. For the whole glory of virtue is in activity.[47]

The emergence of this view was stimulated, in part, by economic changes that were occurring at the time. According to Charlton there was a transition taking place from a few wealthy families controlling wealth to a, "more widely-based industrial economy."[48] The result was a "new view of life, based on the notions of increased productivity and economic progress, where ceaseless labour for the honour of the community became a virtue in itself."[49] As noted earlier, this differed from the medieval notion which placed the spiritual life as more important than the desire for the material world. Bruni helped replace this old notion with a view of life that promoted an active involvement in society as a virtue.[50] "Worldly success, worldly wisdom and worldly virtue now replaced the life of renunciation and mortification."[51] Further elaboration of Bruni's contribution to moral philosophy will be given later in this chapter when the moral philosophy of the Italian Renaissance is considered.

The renewed interest in the classics had a profound impact on all aspects of life: art, music, philosophy, architecture, politics, theology and education. For the purposes of this study only the latter two will be highlighted. The humanistic contributions to theology included the study of textual criticism, which provided better, more accurate translations of classical texts.[52] Some of the labours of the textual critics were not welcomed by the Roman Church. Laurentius Valla (1407-1457) was a prominent scholar who specialized in this discipline in order to reconstruct Roman life and history through the examination of old documents.[53] He also,

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[47] Ibid., p. 29.

[48] Ibid., p.25.

[49] Ibid.

[50] See Ibid., p. 29.

[51] Ibid., p.31.

> extended this method to the New Testament and at the request of King Alphonso, of Naples, subjected the so called "Donation of Constantine," a document upon which Papacy based in part its claims to temporal power, to the tests of textual criticism and showed its historical impossibility.[54]

This discovery weakened the Roman Church because the Donation of Constantine was a document which the Church appealed to as an attempt to strengthen the authority of the Papacy in an age when the Church in Western Europe was in danger of falling apart.[55]

On a more positive note, humanists and the clergy actively translated a considerable amount of Greek Christian writings into Latin. Through the efforts of these men a

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[52] Kristeller, Paul O. Renaissance Thought and Its Sources. Mooney, Michael (ed). New York: Columbia University press, 1979, p. 72, 73.

[53] Cubberly, op. cit., p. 248.

[54] Ibid., p. 246.

[55] Latourette states that the Donation of Constantine was, "Probably written about the middle of the eighth century, it purported to be from early in the fourth century and by the Emperor Constantine. It described the latter's conversion, baptism, and miraculous healing from leprosy through Pope Sylvester I, and said that out of gratitude he was making over to the Pope and his successors his palace in Rome and the city of Rome and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy or of the Western regions. (see Latourette, op. cit., p.341.

"large proportion of Greek patristic literature was for the first time translated into Latin by the humanists and humanistically trained theologians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."[56] These writings included Eusebius, Basil, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Georgory of Nyssa. "Early in the fifteenth century, Leonardo Bruni translated Basil's letter which defended the reading of pagan poets on the part of Christian students,"[57] thus strengthening and popularizing the study of secular literature.

With regard to education, Cubberly states, "the important and outstanding educational result of the revival of ancient learning by Italian scholars was that it laid a basis for a new type of education below that of the university."[58] An important aim of the educator in this 'new type of education' was, "to teach pupils to understand the writings of the great men of the past, to develop critical scholarship toward all writing, and to write good Latin."[59]

The Renaissance influenced the curriculum in the schools. The study of Greek and Latin with an emphasis on articulation and proper accent became important.[60] Cicero, Quintilian, Vergil, Lucan, Horace, and others were studied. History was introduced during this period as a subject of study. There was an emphasis on manners, morality, and reverence. Boys engaged in physical sports-- fencing, wrestling, playing ball, running, and dancing. "The result was an all-round physical, mental, and moral training, vastly superior to anything previously offered by the cathedral and other church schools."[61]

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[56] Kristeller, Renaissance Thought and Its Sources, op. cit., p. 73.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Cubberly, op. cit., p. 263.

[59] Cole, L. A History of Education: Socrates to Montessori. N.Y.: Rinehart & Company, 1950, p. 214.

[60] See Cubberly, op. cit., p.268.

Moral Beliefs in the Italian Renaissance

One of the difficulties inherent with any attempt at an overview of a historical period or topic is the tendency to over-generalize and simplify what is usually very complex. Yet, even with this potential danger, it is nevertheless important to discuss the general nature of moral beliefs in the Italian Renaissance to show the changes that were occurring, as well as establish the foundation of Renaissance humanistic moral ideas. It is imperative to note that from the outset there were many circumstances that contributed to the development of Renaissance moral beliefs and not all Renaissance humanists held to the same set of beliefs nor adhered to moral beliefs with an equal conviction. Furthermore, moral beliefs evolved at different rates and did not have the same degree of importance to all humanists.[62]

There were several shifts in the moral beliefs of humanists during the Quattrocento. These trends, when considered in their historical context, provide a good understanding of what humanists believed in terms of morals and why they held such beliefs. It appears that in many cases these beliefs were more a reaction to medieval ideas, rather than advancements in moral thought. This will be evident as the following shifts are discussed.

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[61] Ibid.

[62] In this general overview it will be impossible to discuss in any detail the differences in the various philosophical schools.

One of the major shifts occurring during the Renaissance was the lessening of man's "concern for immortality through Christ and increased his concern for immortality through economic, literary, artistic, and political pre-eminence."[63] The preoccupation with preparing for life after death was pre-emoted by the pursuit of earthly immortality and virtuous living. This is affirmed by Pomponazzi who postulated that moral virtue was attainable in this present life. "In this manner the dignity of man is not merely maintained, but man's present earthly life is credited with an intrinsic significance that does not depend on any hopes or fears for the future."[64]

An example of a change in morals to accommodate the increasing emphasis on the present life is seen in the humanist's justification for earthly prosperity. During the medieval period there was a high regard for poverty, which was consistent with the Franciscan ideal that the "rejection of the world represented the highest form of religious life...."[65] In other words the rejection of worldly wealth and the acceptance of poverty was a virtuous demonstration of putting one's hope in eternal rewards as opposed to earthly attachments. Petrarch, in turning to St. Augustine as well as Cicero and Seneca, found justification for wealth when he discovered,

> in the teaching of the Stoic sages that wise men will be indifferent to poverty or wealth, good or evil, he found an ideal of virtue that accorded well enough with the Franciscan and monastic ideals, but which still left the door open for the acceptance of wealth and honour.[66]

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[63] DeMolen, op. cit., p. 12.

[64] Kristeller, Renaissance Thought and Its Sources, op. cit., p. 179.

[65] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 101.

[66] Ibid.

By combining the classics with Christian teachings the humanists were able to provide solutions to the tensions that were arising between medieval theological beliefs and the changing culture in Renaissance society.

Humanists, following Petrarch's example, sought out the Ancients to add credibility to their beliefs, because the ancients, were considered to be virtuous people. Thus "by imitating their virtues and by acquiring their language and wisdom,"[67] the humanists could justify their earthly pursuit of affluence and fame. Therefore the ancients were imitated with great enthusiasm by the humanists. Consequently the Church's position as the primary authority for regulating man's life was weakened by the increasing emphasis placed on the classics and their importance in the life of educated people in the fifteenth century.

It is not surprising that with the increased emphasis on the significance of man "Renaissance thinkers found in the life of the ancient Greeks a fundamental belief in the ability of man's natural reason to propose sound solutions."[68] People were no longer dependent on the Church as the sole source for dispensing answers to life's problems. They turned also to human wisdom based on reason for answers to their problems. The theological teaching of Thomas Aquinas supported a confidence in man's ability to reason, even though the Church taught that man was a fallen creature.

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), known as the "prince of school men"[69] was a Dominican educated at the leading centre for scholastic studies, the University of Paris, an institution which endeavoured to reconcile Aristotle with the Christian faith.[70] In his efforts to achieve this goal Aquinas postulated that knowledge had two sources: reason and revelation. He insisted that, "both reason and faith are from Him [God] and cannot be in conflict with each other, nor can the knowledge reached through the senses and reason contradict the truth which is given through revelation and apprehended though faith."[71] Aquinas' goal was to reconcile secular wisdom and theological beliefs within the rubric of divine revelation. This goal is important because within Aquinas' philosophical and theological framework faith took precedence over human knowledge.[72] However, many Italian humanists did not subordinate reason to faith, but placed reason and faith on an equal footing. A consequence of making this distinction allowed humanists to study morals apart from the Church and secular sources could be examined in order to answer moral questions. Thus morals could be established from a totally secular perspective. The significance of the humanists adaption of Aquinas' ideas had a radical implication for the Church and humanists in the Renaissance. The Church was no longer the centre of human life and the only source for knowledge about man and morals. Reason was elevated and set alongside of revelation as an equal source for learning and knowledge.

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[67] The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts, op. cit., p. 238.

[68] DeMolen, op. cit., p. 12.

[69] Latourette, op. cit., p. 513.

The separation of moral philosophy from the prescriptions of the Church was actively pursued by humanistic laymen. This was accomplished by studying classical literature in order to provide a secular source for considering moral questions. Humanists who promoted the adoption of secular solutions to moral issues were a rising group of lay moral guides who erected a "secular ideal of virtue and the virtuous life alongside the Christian."[73] This development was "not so much in conflict with Christianity as independent of it."[74]

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[70] Ibid., p. 511. Although educated at the Universiiity of Paris, Aquinas was also influenced by non-Europeans as well.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Etienne Gilson. The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. Bullough, Edward (trans) & Elington, G. A. (ed). Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1929, p. 37.

Bruni, a nominal church goer who admired the Church Fathers as well as Aquinas, "was able to make moral philosophy almost entirely secular."[75] He accomplished this task by placing moral philosophy within the framework of rhetorical philosophy in order to "show that secular literature was compatible with, indeed could contribute to, Christian culture."[76] It is important to note that there were different schools of philosophical thought and Bruni sided with Iscorates and Cicero who believed an ideal orator was a man, "possessed of a wide and humane culture, high moral principles, and dedication to public service, who would, by the power of his eloquence and force of example, move those around him to virtue and political wisdom."[77]

Rhetoric was an important subject of study for the orator, yet it had a potential drawback in terms of its treatment of moral philosophy. The goal of rhetoric is to to present a powerful argument for a position without necessarily considering the ethical implications of the issue being discussed. "The concern was more to achieve the best and most effective expressions of the arguments for and against a given philosophical position, than to find out whether that position was true."[78] It does not appear that rhetorical argument was the dominant means for establishing moral beliefs.

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[73] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 101.

[74] Ibid.

[75] The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Text, op. cit., p. 14.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 250.

Due to a variety of developments occurring in the Italian Renaissance the basis for morals was no longer securely tied to the moorings of the Church. The use of reason apart from Divine Revelation, and the synthesis of reason and revelation, were two currants that were influencing the development of moral ideas. The former current is reflected in the moral philosophy of Bruni. His work, An Isagogue of Moral Philosophy, was an overview of moral philosophy written as a letter in the form of a dialogue between Bruni and a friend. This was a common method for expressing one's ideas at the time. A work of moral philosophy was also considered a work of literature and thus should be written in "good Latin prose in one of the accepted ancient genres: dialogue, treatise, or letter."[79]

Bruni believed the chief benefit of studying moral philosophy is to give us "the greatest and most excellent of all things: happiness."[80] According to the Isagogue not all people are naturally happy because their natural desire for good "is confused and uncertain, and false beliefs cling to it like a fog, leading us astray, blinded and deceived."[81] However, at the heart of man's action is a motivation to do some sort of good.[82] Doing good brings pleasure and pleasure is inseparable from happiness.[83] Acts of virtue, knowledge, contemplation, and even the very consciousness of just deeds, are all sources for experiencing happiness and pleasure.[84] Consequently, it is possible to attain a happy life through the practice of the virtues, which are developed through the training of the mind. Bruni stated that,

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[78] Ibid., p. 256, 257.

[79] Ibid., p. 269.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., p. 267.

> men are by nature born capable, through training and practice, of justice, temperance, and other virtues. Thus, what was by nature imperfect can be perfected by long practice. We may conclude, then, that every real virtue is a habit, acquired by training and mental discipline, and its exercise is presently brought to perfection through experience and knowledge.[85]

Bruni noted that there were two types of virtues: moral virtues that operated in the soul and intellectual virtues which operated in the natural part of man.[86] Some virtues were more applicable to the "contemplative life of retirement, while others are more suitable to the active, civic life."[87] In making this distinction, and in connecting virtue with happiness, Bruni was simply echoing central themes of Aristotle's ethics. In summary, he wrote:

> Happiness is truly our goal in all of life; we are born with a desire for it. We ascend to it, not through vice and lust which are in themselves despicable and incapable of giving peace to the soul, but through virtue and moderation. The way to happiness is straight and swift for the good

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[82] Ibid., p. 269.

[83] Ibid., p. 273.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., p. 274.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., p. 282.

> man. He alone is not deceived and does not fall into error. It is he that lives and acts well, not the evil man. If, then, we would be happy, let us make great efforts to be good men and practice virtue.[88]

In summary, besides providing a context and overview of the Italian Renaissance in the fourteenth century; this chapter also establishes a reference point for the English Renaissance. Many of the achievements and ideas generated in Italy had a significant effect on the leaders of English humanism.

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[88] Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

The English Renaissance
The People and Ideas that Shaped Moral Education in England

Humanism: Its Development in Fifteenth Century England

Humanism in England during the fifteenth century began with the patronage by Duke Humphrey, the son of Henry IV and brother of Henry V, in the early part of the fifteenth century and proceeded to the establishment of humanism through the efforts of a number of influential Englishmen by the close of the century. The development of humanism can be divided into three phases: the rise, the dissemination, and the consolidation of humanism in England. There are one or more significant personalities associated with each of these three periods.

During all three of these periods there was a regular flow of English churchmen to Italy on official business or to study law, which would enable them to vie for lucrative posts back in England. The main centre for legal studies was Bologna. During a period between 1423-1499 forty-eight Englishmen received either the Doctor of Canon Law or Doctor of Civil Law,[1] thus equipping them to engage in "granting probate of wills, dealing with civil and criminal cases against clerics, settling disputed contracts and marriages, and above all taking part in the heresy trials against Wycliffites."[2] Many other Englishmen went to study at other universities in Italy. One of the motivations for these men to study in Italy was that the Hundred Years War had made it difficult for them to attend the University of Paris, which previously was a popular centre for English students.[3] The majority of the men who were travelling south to study were in holy orders and did not all embrace humanism. However, some men like William Grey and Robert Flemmyng, were won to humanism while others, like John Free and John Gunthorpe went with the purpose of attending humanistic lectures.[4] Many of the students would return to England and spread humanistic ideas through contacts with colleagues or through teaching and writing.

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[1] Mitchell, J. "English Law Students at Bologna in the Fifteenth Century," English Historical Review (51) 1936, p. 286, 287.

[2] Charlton, Kenneth. Education in Renaissance England. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, p. 46.

There was a regular migration between England and Italy of Englishmen and Italians. Papal collectors who visited England were often humanists and they would at times bring copies of works translated into Latin to present to prominent Englishmen.[5] Two famous Italian humanists who travelled to England in the first half of the fifteenth century were Poggio Bracciolini and Piero del Monte.[6] The latter was a pupil of Guarino, who gave a copy of Bruni's Latin version of Plutarch's Lives to John Whethamstede.[7] He was also in contact with Duke Humphrey as well as the English scholars Andrew Holes, Thomas Bekynton, and Adam de Moleyns.[8]

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[3] Weiss, R. Humanism in England: During the Fifteenth Century. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Third Edition 1967, p. 84.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Charlton, op. cit., p. 43. These works were originally in Greek and they were translated into Latin.

[6] Bowen, J. A History of Western Education, Volume 2. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1975, p. 327.

[7] Charlton, op. cit., p. 43.

[8] Ibid.

Another source for the spread of humanism in England was the Conciliar movement of the fifteenth century. There were several great councils of the Church which were a source for the dissemination of the new learning. The Council of Ferrare-Florence (1438-45) was considered to be "one of the greatest meetings of humanists of the period."[9] During this meeting, along with the earlier Councils of Constance (1415) and Basel (1431), Englishmen were exposed to Traversari, Poggio, Chrysoloras, Guarino, and Bruni.[10]

The first phase of humanism in England during the fifteenth century centred on Humphrey the Duke of Gloucester and this period could be described as the rise of humanism. Humphrey's interest in humanism probably arose through his contacts with papal officials, Italian friends who were educated as humanists, and his own reading of humanistic texts.[11] Humphrey, due to his royal heritage, was a very influential patron of learning. He "gathered about himself practically all the native scholars of the period, and brought from Italy several of the younger humanists...and introduced the spirit of the Renaissance"[12] to England. Kenneth Charlton singles out Humphrey as the leading figure in furthering the cause of humanism in England in the first half of the fifteenth century.[13] The two primary avenues Humphrey used to accomplish this great task were the building of a personal library and the patronage he extended to humanistic scholars.

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[9] Ibid., p. 47.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Weiss, op. cit., p. 39, 40.

[12] Graves, F. P. A History of Education: During the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times. New York: Macmillan Company, 1916, p. 162.

[13] Charlton, op. cit., p. 44.

Humphrey imported books from Italy to build a library, "which served as the foundation of humanistic studies for the rest of the century."[14] He bought both translations of classical texts such as Aristotle's Politics and Ethics as well as current works like Bruni's translation of Aristotle's Ethics which replaced the medieval version available in England. "As a result of Humphrey's efforts Bruni was probably the best-known Italian humanist in England.[15] Eventually, Humphrey donated his books, in instalments, to Oxford. On two separate occasions he donated over 250 volumes.[16]

The second great contribution Humphrey made to the rise of humanism in England was his patronage of scholars. Some of these scholars served as his personal secretaries and in addition to their duty of overseeing his correspondence they would often translate and copy some of the classics. Humphrey attempted to secure Bruni as his first secretary, but he declined the invitation.[17] However, Humphrey did receive works from Bruni.[18] Pier Candido Decembrio, an Italian, was commissioned by Humphrey to produce a version of Plato's Republic. In addition, he sent Humphrey a number of other texts, including: Cicero's Epistilae Familiares, Quintilian's Institatio Oratoria and Bruni's Isagogicon.[19] Humphrey's importance in the rise of English humanism is summed up very well by Charlton who declares that, "Humphrey's contribution to the early period of English humanism was without equal, and in his day the flow of students to Italy gathered momentum."[20]

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., p. 45.

[16] Bowen, op. cit., p. 326.

[17] Weiss, op. cit., p. 41.

[18] Charlton, op. cit., p. 45.

[19] Ibid.

Robert Flemmyng, John Free, William Grey,[21] and John Tiptoft are names synonymous with the second phase of English humanism. These men made a positive contribution to scholarship and "were able to vie with the Italians in their scholarship, their bibliophil, and even their writings."[22] Grey's main area of study was theology and his interest in humanism may have begun while a student at Oxford. It was during this period that Humphrey had made his first large donation of manuscripts to Oxford and "it is practically certain that he must have had access to these before leaving Oxford."[23] Grey held influential positions in the Church, thus making his collecting of books and practice of patronage possible.[24] Free, as well as Flemmyng, Grey and Tiptoft, studied under one of the most renowned scholars and educators of the Italian Renaissance, Guarino.[25] Free studied for four years under Guarino and he was recognized as a scholar of the humanities by the Italians.[26] Tiptoft, the Earl of Worcester, rivalled Humphrey as a book collector. He contributed books to Oxford, many of which were to that time unknown in England.[27] Tiptoft was also a patron, translator and scholar. Robert Flemmyng travelled to Italy on three separate occasions and while studying Greek he came under the influence of humanism. According to Weiss, "Flemmyng occupies a prominent position in the history of early English humanism because of his Latin writings, his bibliophil, and his knowledge of Greek."[28] These men's contributions of Latin classics, Greek authors and works of leading contemporary humanists "were to prove essential for the furtherance of humanist studies at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century.[29]

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Not all scholars agree with Charlton's assessment that Grey was an outstanding scholar. Weiss notes that "the position of Grey in the history of English humanism should, like that of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, be viewed from the angle of patronage rather than that of actual scholarly achievement." Weiss, op. cit., p. 95.

[22] Charlton, op. cit., p. 47.

[23] Weiss, op. cit., p. 87.

[24] Ibid., p. 86, 90.

[25] "By the end of the first half of the fifteenth century Guarino and his school had acquired an international reputation." Weiss, op. cit., p. 85. The schools founded by Guarino and Vittorino were model schools that were imitated throughout Europe, including England. Cole, L. A History of Education: Socrates to Montessori. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1950, p. 218.

It was during the third phase that "the full force of Renaissance humanism in England first became clearly evident in the careers of John Colet and St. Thomas More."[30] In addition to these men, other significant men of the late fifteenth century were Elyot, Fisher, Linacre, Warham, Grocyn and Erasmus.[31] Erasmus, although not an Englishmen by birth or long residence, was a pivotal figure in the Renaissance. Woodward cites his influence in England. He writes that, "the association of Erasmus with the Oxford group was destined to prove a stimulus to a definite humanist movement in England...For example, the foundation of the avowedly humanist college of Christ's at Cambridge, by Fisher, was probably due to Erasmus' influence."[32] Through the influence of many of these men humanism spread through grammar schools, universities, the London legal community, the royal family, bishops, monasteries and aristocratic families. It is this third phase in English history that will be closely considered in order to examine the influence of English humanists on moral education. The primary focus of this investigation will centre on Erasmus and John Colet.

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[26] Charlton, op. cit., p. 50.

[27] Ibid., p. 49.

[28] Weiss, op. cit., p. 101.

[29] Charlton, op. cit., p. 49.

[30] Artz, Frederick. Renaissance Humanism 1300-1550. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1966, p. 74.

[31] Linacre and Grocyn are particularly note worthy because they were two of the first teachers of Greek in fifteenth century England.

Erasmus: His Rise to Prominence

Erasmus was a giant among humanists in the sixteenth century. In the first quarter of the century he dominated much of the "European discussion of religion, classical scholarship, biblical and patristic studies, education, and moral and political commentary."[33] Through such a powerful position, "Erasmus gave standing to the new learning, and more than any other single person created the atmosphere in which humanism could flourish."[34] His ascent to the height as popular proselytizer of humanism was due, in part, to the wide distribution of his writings; "his books sold more copies than anyone else's.[35] In addition, Erasmus corresponded with most of the intellectual, religious, and political elite of England and the Continent. In his written communications with these men he was consciously writing the letters, "knowing that they would be passed from hand to hand, copied and eventually printed."[36] In the light of Erasmus' influence and his intimate relationship with key English humanists it is important to give careful consideration to the contributions he made to moral and religious thought in England, especially as it relates to moral education in English grammar schools.[37]

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[32] Woodward, W. H. Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance 1400-1600. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1967, p. 107.

[33] Grendler, Paul F. "In Praise of Erasmus," The Wilson Quarterly (7) Spring 1983, p. 100.

[34] Woodward, op. cit., p. 109.

[35] Grendler, op. cit., p. 88.

Erasmus (1469-153),[38] born in Holland, was an illegitimate child. An additional complication was that Erasmus' father was a priest prior to his birth. This was an embarrassment and burden to Erasmus. He attempted to defuse the stigma of this awkward circumstance by suggesting that his father was not a priest at the time of his birth, but was secretly united with Margaret (Erasmus' mother) in the hope of marriage. According to Erasmus' account, this relationship was not approved of by his parents because they hoped to make him a priest. Therefore, they employed deceitful means in order to convince him that Margaret had left him.[39] As a reaction to this great disappointment he entered the priesthood. Erasmus' account does not appear to be the case. Huizinga postulates that Erasmus' father was not only already a priest, but he was involved in a long term relationship with his housekeeper, because Erasmus had a brother, Peter, who was three years older than himself.[40] Hyma concurs with Huizinga's conclusion. The dark cloud over Erasmus due to his illegitimacy created more than just emotional stress. His circumstance also limited his ability to receive certain patronage. This difficulty, however, was overcome in 1513 when he successfully petitioned Pope Julis II "for a dispensation which would remove the stain of his father's guilt."[41] The Pope accommodated Erasmus' request and "stated that Erasmus was the son of 'a bachelor and a widow'."[42] Although this absolution made it now possible for Erasmus to receive ecclesiastical patronage it nevertheless appears that it was not able to fully appease his soul.

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[36] Ibid., p. 95.

[37] Caspari states that, "The inclusion of Erasmus in a treatment of English humanism needs no justification: he was personally very closely connected with, and in part responsible for, its first real growth, and his works had a lasting effect on later thought and practice." Caspari, Fritz. Humanism and Social Order in Tudor England. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University Press, 1968, p. 33.

[38] There is some controversy over the exact date of Erasmus' birth. Some scholars like Huizinga and Phillips date Erasmus' birth in 1466 while Hyma puts 1469 as the birth date. For the purposes of this paper Hyma's date will be used.

[39] Hyma, Albert. The Life of Desiderius Erasmus. Assen, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Van Gorcum & Comp. N. V., 1972, p. 9.

At the age of six Erasmus, along with his brother, was enroled in St. Lebwin's school in Deventer. The school was administered by a "semi-monastic order known as the Brethren of the Common Life,"[43] whose most famous student was Thomas a Kempis. The society was already over one hundred years old at the time of Erasmus' association with the school.[44] It seems that St. Lebwin's was a good school and provided students with access to the classics.[45] Under the influence of the Brothers, Erasmus "learned that the pure philosophy of Christ was inwardly related to all the truths of antiquity, to the Stoic mastery of self and faith in predestination, to the Platonic idealism and other-worldliness."[46] In addition to their piety they engaged in intellectual study. This linked them to Renaissance humanism in that they rejected the sterile intellectual disputes of the late medieval philosophy of scholasticism.[47] While in Deventer Erasmus studied Latin and Greek, distinguishing himself as a bright, industrious student who retained whatever he was taught. He surprised "all the other boys of his age."[48] Nevertheless, Erasmus felt the school was barbarous, the material was boring, and there was too much rote learning.[49] The latter two complaints may be a consequence of his intellectual superiority. Nevertheless, Erasmus carried with him from St. Lebwin's a pietism, an appreciation for the classics and the rejection of Scholasticism.

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[40] Huizimga, Johan. Erasmus and the Age of Reformation. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957, p. 5.

[41] Hyma, op. cit., p. 10.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., p. 13.

[44] Phillips, M. M. Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1949, p. 7.

[45] Hyma, op. cit., p. 13.

In 1483, while still at St. Lebwin's, a plague ravaged Deventer. Erasmus and his brother left the town and returned to Gouda where both their parents lived. Shortly after their arrival both parents died, leaving the now orphaned Erasmus and Peter in the protective care of guardians.[50] The boys were encouraged to go to 's-Hertogenbosch. This school was also run by the Brethren of Common Life and the school was "instrumental in popularizing the study of Latin."[51] After leaving 's-Hertogenbosch near the end of 1486 Erasmus entered the Monastery of Steyn (1487).[52]

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[46] Smith, Preserved. Erasmus: A Study of His Life, Ideas, and Place in History. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1923, p. 53.

[47] Phillips, op. cit., p. 8.

[48] Hyma, op. cit., p. 14. Taken from F. M. Nichols, The Epistles of Erasmus, Vol. 1, reprinted by New York: Russell & Russell, 1962, p. 23.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., p. 19.

His entry into monastic life was not by Erasmus' own choice. In a letter to a superior in the Monastery of Steyn he wrote that "it was by the pertinacity of my guardians and the importunate exhortations of others, I was driven rather than persuaded to that kind of life."[53] Although the circumstances surrounding Erasmus' entrance into the monastery were manipulative, the experience had a profitable effect on Erasmus. As early as 1488 he was considering the value of mental and physical discipline for Christians. He concluded that, "What every person needed above all other things was virtue and abstinence from all evil thoughts and deeds in order to obtain spiritual power."[54] Erasmus was so influenced by religious ideas that he "decided for the future to write nothing which does not breathe the atmosphere either of praise of holy men or of holiness itself."[55] The monastic life was not suited to Erasmus and thus in 1492 he willingly accepted an offer from Henry Bergen, Bishop of Cambrai to be his secretary.[56]

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[51] Ibid., p. 20. See Rummel, Erika. Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985, p. 6, and Hyma, op. cit., p. 20, for the spelling of 's-Hertogenbosch.

[52] Ibid., p. 22.

[53] Ibid., p. 25.

[54] Ibid., p. 29, 30.

[55] DeMolen. The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1987, p. 39.

[56] Hyma, op. cit., p. 31. Soon after leaving the monastery he was ordained as a priest. Ibid., p. 37.

Hyma asserts that Erasmus was prompted to leave the monastery because he "was extremely ambitious in seeking for himself great honors through his association with 'the vested interests'."[57] This attitude appears to be a primary motivation for accepting the Bishop's offer because it was thought that the Bishop would soon become a cardinal, thereby giving Erasmus access to many high dignitaries in Rome.[58] Erasmus served the Bishop for about three years and when he saw that Henry was not going to become a cardinal "he took the next useful step in going to [University of] Paris and seeking honors there."[59]

DeMolen would disagree with Hyma's assessment that Erasmus was a glory-seeker. He states that "Erasmus' devotion to his studies greatly exceeded his desire for material comforts and represents a further indication of his personal devotion to Christ and of his trust in Divine Providence."[60] DeMolen's appraisal may be a bit generous because in another work DeMolen himself tempers this view. He acknowledges that when Erasmus separated from the monastery he was very cognizant that he needed money to support himself and states that at first "subsistence was an almost constant preoccupation with him at the start of his public career."[61] He also included part of a letter that John Colet wrote to Erasmus in 1511 exhorting him "not to be so active in pursuing patrons but to rely more on Divine

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[57] Ibid., p. 37.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Demolen, Richard. "Introduction: Opera Omni Desiderii Erasmii," Demolen, Richard (ed). Essays on the Works of Erasmus. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1978, p. 4.

[61] DeMolen, The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam, op. cit., p. 43.

Providence."[62] It appears that Hyma's conclusion more closely reflects Erasmus' feelings.

Erasmus enroled in the College of Montaigu, which was headed by John Standonck, a former pupil of the Brethren of Common Life.[63] Student life under Standonck was not positive. In a colloquy titled "A Fish Diet" Erasmus describes his association with his teacher. He wrote that the college,

> was ruled by Jean Standonck, a man whose intentions were beyond reproach but whom you would have found entirely lacking in judgement...Within a year he had succeeded in killing many very capable, gifted, promising students; and other whom I knew, he reduced to blindness, nervous breakdowns, or leprosy. Not a single student, in fact was out of danger.[64]

While at the University of Paris Erasmus also did some teaching. This made it possible for him to meet some influential people. One of these students was William Blount (Lord Mountjoy). In 1499 Blount invited Erasmus to come to England and he introduced him to some of the leading English humanists.[65]

Erasmus in England

Erasmus visited England on several occasions between 1499-1514. His first visit, for three years, brought two significant developments. First, he established his reputation as a great humanistic scholar. Second, he made friends with powerful and prominent Englishmen. John Colet, Thomas More, Henry VII and two of his children, Prince Henry and Mary, were some of the people he met during his first trip. He established intimate friendships with Colet and More. These three men became the nucleus for what has been known as the Oxford Reformers, but more correctly should be called the London Reformers.[66] Both More and Colet were established in London during this period and their humanistic circle also included members of the London legal community, the royal family, bishops, and aristocratic families.[67] Erasmus was very favourably impressed with England and shortly before his departure he wrote an old friend, Robert Fisher then in Italy, telling him his impressions. He wrote:

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[62] Ibid. One possible response to this conflict maybe that Erasmus was more philosophically consistent than he was in the practical application of religion to his daily life.

[63] Hyma, op. cit., p. 37.

[64] Ibid., p. 42.

[65] Ibid., p. 46.

> But you will ask how I like England. Believe me, my Robert, when I say that I never liked anything so much before. I have found the climate here most agreeable and salubrious; and I have met with so much civility, and so much learning, not hackneyed and trivial, but deep, accurate, ancient, Latin and Greek, that but for curiosity I do not now much care whether I see Italy or not. When I hear my Colet I seem to be listening to Plato himself. In Grocin who does not marvel at such a perfect world of learning? What can be more acute, profound, and delicate than the judgement of Linacre? What has nature ever created more gentle, sweet, or happy than the genius of Thomas More.?[68]

There is some debate as to who had the greater influence on the other. Was it Erasmus on Colet and More or was it the other way?[69] Regardless of the answer, it seems that these men had a profound and lasting effect on each other. As a result of their close personal friendships many of their ideas may have budded, grown and matured collectively through their interactions with one another. In addition to these friends, Erasmus also had a notable influence on many other leading people in England. Robert Fisher, a Bishop of Rochester and later Chancellor of Cambridge and then President of Queen's College, was swayed by Erasmus' beliefs when setting out the statutes of the newly founded college. "The markedly humanistic bias of the statutes of Queen's drawn up at this time certainly shows the influence of the Dutch scholar."[70]

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[66] Hyma, op. cit., p. 45.

[67] McConia, James K. English Humanists and Reformation Politics: Under Henry VIII and Edward VI, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 46.

[68] Smith, op.cit., p. 63.

[69] See Hyma, op. cit., p. 43, 49 and Huizinga, op. cit., p. 30, 31.

Erasmus also established himself as a leading international scholar through the publication of several books. Woodward notes that by 1506, "the position of Erasmus in the world of letters was already assured."[71] His early works included De Ratione Studii first published in 1497. Three years later the Adagiorum Collectanea came into print. This book "was a collection of about eight hundred proverbial sayings drawn from the Latin authors of antiquity and elucidated for those who aspired to write an elegant Latin style."[72] One of the proverbs that was included in this work was: "Evil communications corrupt good manners."[73] Following the proverb was a detailed rendering as to the meaning of the saying. Also included in the discussion was the source of the proverb along with a listing of some of the people who borrowed or adapted the saying. In this example he cites the Apostle Paul's borrowing of the proverb in I Corinthians 15:33 "Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners" (KJV). Aristotle foreshadowed the proverb in Ethics, "If you live with evil-doers you will yourself become evil."[74] In this proverb Erasmus also refered to Colet:

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[70] Smith, op. cit., p. 65.

[71] Woodward, W. H. Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1964, p. 14.

[72] Huizinga, op. cit., p. 39.

[73] Smith, op. cit., p. 42.

> Indeed, I do not remember reading as yet any other dictum of the philosophers which seems to me comparable with the favourite saying of my John Colet, a man both learned and incorruptible. "Our character is that of our daily conversation, we grow like what we are accustomed to hear."[75]

This book was to become a valuable resource for the teaching of moral values to children in schools. Another of his early writings was the Enchiridion (1503) which will be considered more closely later in this chapter because it clearly sets out much of his philosophy for moral education.

Another important treatise of Erasmus was De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis declamatio (A Declamation on the Subject of Early Liberal Education) (1509). This was a letter addressed to William, "the thirteen-year-old son of the Duke of Cleves.[76] This work articulated the need for children to begin their formal education at a young age. Throughout the letter Erasmus admonished parents, particularly fathers, to take seriously their responsibilities to ensure their children received a good education.[77] He also outlines his philosophy of education and provides clear guidance to parents when choosing a private tutor or a public school for their sons to attend.

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[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid., p. 43.

[76] Erasmus. A Declamation on the Subject of Early Liberal Education for Children (De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis declamatio). Collected Works of Erasmus, Volume 26. Sowards, J. K. (ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985, p. 292.

[77] Erasmus' philosophy regarding the need to begin formal education early is summed up in the following paragraph: "For first of all, the basic elements of knowledge depend above all on the memory; and this faculty,

A sampling of other works of marked importance were The Praise of Folly (1509), Instruction of a Christian Prince, a Latin text of the New Testament (1506) and De Verborum et Rerum. It is of some interest to note that in light of Erasmus' numerous works, Wallace Ferguson's assessment of Erasmus' writings is that "There is actually very little in these works that can be regarded as original except as the whole bears the unmistakable imprint of an original mind."[78] McConia agrees with Ferguson by noting that Erasmus was the main person in the humanistic movement but he was not the most creative mind.[79]

With his fame now well established, Erasmus had the opportunity to travel to Italy for the first time in 1506.

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as I have said, is very strongly developed in children. Secondly, since nature has brought us forth so that we might acquire knowledge, it can never be too early to satisfy this urge, of which the seeds, as it were, have been implanted in us by nature, the mother of all things. Furthermore, things which are also essential to a adult's store of learning, such as the alphabet, a command of languages, and morally edifying stories in prose or verse, are mastered much more quickly and easily at a tender age, thanks to some natural inclination, than at a sturdier one. Finally, why should children not be fit to be instructed in letters if they can be taught good behaviour at this age? What better occupation can there be for children once they have mastered speech? For they must turn inevitably to some activity or other. It will be so much more beneficial for them to combine play with education than to waste their time on frivolity." Erasmus, A Declamation, CWE, op. cit., p. 297. Much of what Erasmus writes is covered in other works. There is however, a good discussion pp. 325ff on teachers.

[78] Ferguson, Wallace K. "Renaissance Tendencies in the Religious Thought of Erasmus," Journal of the History of Ideas (15:4) October 1954, p. 500.

[79] McConia, op. cit., p. 23. He cites Thomas More as an example of a humanists with a more creative mind.

He had two primary goals in Italy. The first was to get a letter from Pope Julis II to absolve his illegitimacy, thereby entitling him the right to hold certain benefices in England. The letter of dispensation was secured on January 4, 1506 and stated, in part: "Your zeal for religion, honesty of life and character, and other laudable merits, probity, and virtue, for which you have been commended to us by faithful testimony, have induced us to show you special grace and favor."[80] The second goal was to obtain a desired Doctorate degree. This was achieved on September 4, 1506 when the University of Turin made Erasmus a master and doctor in theology.[81]

After the death of King Henry VII on April 22, 1509, Lord Mountjoy "wrote Erasmus a letter saying that he must rush back to England, where he would be received with the utmost cordiality."[82] After considering his options he chose to return to England because he had accomplished his goals of attaining a dispensation and a Doctorate. Furthermore, Leo X became the new Pope and Erasmus felt "he did not have a chance to gain as much advantage in Italy as in England."[83] Therefore he returned to England where his former pupil, Lord Mountjoy, still held a powerful position in London. He also could rely on Thomas More who was "in a good position to help him obtain all sorts of favors from More's former pupil, now known as King Henry VIII."[84]

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[80] Hyma, op. cit., p. 69.

[81] Ibid., p. 66.

[82] Ibid., p. 71.

[83] Ibid., p. 73.

[84] Ibid.

Once back in England, Erasmus was able to continue to advance his humanistic ideas. During the next five years in England he helped Colet in the establishment of St. Paul's school and for four years he was the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge where he taught Greek. His financial situation was secure as he was "patronized by popes, by reforming bishops and abbots, by cathedral clergy and the administrators of the new monarchies, by kings, queens, and princesses, and by aristocratic patrons from Rome to Greenwich."[85]

Clearly, from the brief description of Erasmus' life, one can conclude that he was a pivotal figure in the sixteenth century. He rose to international renown. His numerous books have provided a platform from which he could proclaim his ideas. Because of his prominent position as a scholar and reformer his ideas received a hearing.

Erasmus: Religious and Moral Beliefs

Erasmus' primary focus was as a Greek scholar who studied the classics. He had a sincere concern for religion, but according to Hyma, he was not deeply religious. Hyma also notes that compared to John Colet, Erasmus' religious commitment was shallow.[86] This statement may, however, reflect more of the extreme loftiness of Colet's religiosity than an indictment of Erasmus' spirituality. This will become evident as his religious and moral beliefs are discussed.

Many people, both contemporaries and ancient, made valuable contributions to Erasmus' spiritual life and philosophy. Some of the more prominent men who Erasmus had contact with were Colet, More, John Vitrier, and an Italian named Pico, who had a great impact on Colet and More.[87] Among the ancients, "Jerome and Origen were the two most important influences on Erasmus, and he valued their writings above all the others."[88] Early in Erasmus' adult life he was impressed by Augustine, but in 1521 he was quoted as being hostile to this great Saint. The unusual change of heart may have been due to the fact that "he was beginning to break with Luther, who supported St. Augustine with tremendous respect and affection."[89] The New Testament was another vital source for his spiritual growth with his greatest inspiration coming from the life of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels.[90]

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[85] McConia, op. cit., p. 34. See also Smith, op. cit., pp. 67-69.

[86] Hyma, op. cit., p. 62.

Erasmus' interest in religion grew steadily over the course of his life[91] and his religious philosophy was a balance between religion and humanism. Philosophia Christi was his ideal for the Christian life and it "stressed the importance of interior spirituality rather than external observances; of the ways of the spirit rather than the letter of the law."[92] This philosophy was to be the measure for all human activity, both lay and clerical.[93] It contained a blending of "undogmatic religion and an ethical piety, founded alike on the Sermon on the Mount and on the teachings of Greek philosophy...."[94] His ideal was rooted in two schools: the Brethren of the Common Life and the Florentine Platonic Academy.[95] Erasmus' goal with this philosophy was for people to live a life of wisdom entirely consecrated to God.[96]

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[87] Smith, op. cit., p. 54.

[88] DeMolen, "Introduction: Opera Omi Desiderii Erasmi," op. cit., p. 28. Origen was a heretic in terms of his theology but the issue here is not theology but his writing style. Erasmus writes in De ratione studii that. "Among theological writers, after the Scriptures, no one writes better that Origen...." Erasmus. On the Method of Study (De ratione studii) Collected Works of Erasmus, Volume 24. Graig R. Thompson (ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978, p. 673.

[89] Hyma, op. cit., p. 61.

[90] Smith, op. cit., p. 54.

[91] Ibid., p. 52.

[92] DeMolen, The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam, op. cit., p. 46.

The philosophia Christi is synonymous with the Christian humanism which was practised in England, and is embodied in Erasmus. The Christian humanist was encouraged to study the three original languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), to learn the rules of grammar and rhetoric, and to receive a general education which included history, geography, and culture in order to better understand the Bible.[97] The broad aim was to give training in virtue and good letters which would equip men to live an active Christian life.[98]

For Erasmus, living an active Christian life meant an outward practice of virtue based on inner piety. This, according to Erasmus, was noticeably lacking in his day. He observed, "It is a hard thing indeed and known to very few men, even of monks, to die to sin, to die to carnal desires, to die to this world. And yet this is the common profession of all Christians."[99] An emphasis on actions prompted by inner piety is evident in Education of a Christian Prince where Erasmus asks a rhetorical question, "Who is truly Christian?" He answers, "Not he who is baptized or anointed, or who attends church. It is rather the man who has embraced Christ in the innermost feelings of his heart, and who emulates Him by pious deeds."[100]

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[93] McConia, op. cit., p. 14.

[94] Smith, op. cit., p. 52.

[95] Ibid., p. 53.

[96] McConia, op. cit., p. 15.

[97] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 506.

[98] Bush, Douglas. The Renaissance and English Humanism. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939, p. 78.

In order to attain such a life personal commitment and education was required. Erasmus likened the Christian life to a battle and "urged the Christian knight to fortify himself with virtue and knowledge of the classics and the works of the Church Fathers."[101] "Erasmus also believed in the old Greek notion that learning supports piety, arguing that true piety must be based on genuine learning and must lead to moral action."[102] Therefore, Erasmus' remedy for the darkness in society and the strengthening of Christians was to lift the standard of religion and conduct in the community through knowledge that comes with the "union of enlightened Christianity and the wisdom of the ancients."[103] Erasmus hoped to accomplish this task through his writings and with an emphasis on education.

Much of Erasmus' writings provided resources for laymen and clerics to use to develop the philosophia Christi. A brief survey of some of his moral writings will substantiate this point. "Moral instruction was at the heart of the Adages."[104] Erasmus believed that "who ever observed the wise sayings of the ancients and the Church Fathers would be led to a virtuous life in imitation of Christ."[105] Another source for moral training was the Colloquies, a collection of stories that teach moral lessons. One titled "Sober Feast" showed how ancient literature can produce examples of character that is the pattern of Christian goodness.[106] A book on manners called De Civilitate Morum Puerilium was used widely in sixteenth century schools in England. One example taught the importance of "cleanliness, without and within, orderliness, truthfulness, frankness, self-respect, inbred courtesy to elders, to women, and to companions...."[107] The Apophthegmata was another resource that was a collection of ancient moral wisdom in which Erasmus "brings forward the great figures of the past to celebrate the eternal laws of right."[108] Other works devoted to moral instruction were The Praise of Folly, The Handbook of a Christian Soldier and The Education of a Christian Prince, which served as an educational treatise as well.[109] He also produced a Greek translation of the New Testament, thus establishing "the first authentic text of the New Testament in its most ancient form."[110]

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[99] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 504, Quoted from Enchirdion.

[100] DeMolen, The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam, op. cit., p. 54.

[101] Ibid., p. 12.

[102] DeMolen, "Introduction:Opera Omni Desiderii Erasmi, op. cit., p. 1.

[103] Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education, op. cit., 72.

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[104] DeMolen, "Introduction: Opera Omni Desiderii Erasmui, op. cit., p. 12. This was also known as Adagiorum Collectanea.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education, op. cit., p. 159.

[107] Ibid., p. 157.

[108] Ibid., p. 159.

[109] McConia, op. cit., p. 29.

Erasmus: Use of the Classics in Moral Education

Being a humanist scholar, Erasmus, was committed to studying the classics. This pursuit was not uncontested. He said that "the whole world tried to frighten me away from the study of polite letters and to push me in the other direction."[111] Erasmus, however, was not diverted; he devoted himself to humanistic studies within a Christian framework. He was clear in his assertion that the classics were to strengthen Christian beliefs and moral practice. For Erasmus, "All studies, philosophy, rhetoric, are followed for this one object, that we may know Christ and honor him. This is the end of all learning and eloquence."[112]

This emphasis on piety did not take away from the fact that he valued the classics for more than just their benefit to moral development. He believed the classics were the avenue to understand culture because it was reflected in the classics.[113] Thus the classics were a window on the world and provided wisdom for practical living. According to Erasmus, "The function of poets is to teach, and even Plautus and Terence, Ovid and Martial, have good counsel mixed with their licentious matter.[114] Besides that, they were examples of good literature and therefore the aesthetic appeal of the ancient literature should not be overlooked.[115] In addition, the comedies of Terence and letters of Cicero were considered by Erasmus "supreme models of colloquial Latinity and therefore the best to imitate."[116]

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[110] Hyma, op. cit., p. 56.

[111] Ibid., p. 34.

[112] Grendler, op. cit., p. 93.

[113] Smith, op. cit., p. 36.

[114] Bush, op. cit., p. 76.

In the preface to a work titled, Book Against the Barbarians, Erasmus voiced his displeasure for those who rejected the study of the classics. He wrote, "I began to hate all those who I knew were insensible to the humanists."[117] In this work Erasmus took an aggressive position in his arguments for the endorsement of the classics. He believed that God's providential hand used the writings of the pagans as a precursor to the fullness of wisdom and brilliance that would be revealed through the Incarnation.[118] Through Christ the apex of the highest good was reached, but God did not allow the pagans to labour in vain.

> In that same providence of his by which nature takes care that no portion of time shall slip away uselesly', as in ripening the pear tree through all seasons, so 'he gave the centuries immediately preceding a privilege of their own: they were to reach the thing nearest to the highest good, that is, the summit of learning.[119]

Thus, the primary motivation for classical study was inseparably linked with religious instruction and moral development. Terence's style was to be emulated, but people should also not "fail to perceive how much moral goodness exists in Terence's plays, how much implicit, exhortation to shape one's life is found in the literature of the ancients."[120] Erasmus also stressed that even though the ancients may have been heathens writing to heathens, one must not overlook that their moral principles were justice, sanctity, sincerity, truth and fidelity.[121] He saw and appreciated the positive contributions the ancients could make to the Christian faith. Smith writes that Erasmus discovered that Plato, "was a theologian, Socrates a saint, Cicero inspired, and Seneca not far from Paul."[122] In order to obtain the maximum moral benefit from the classics, Erasmus gave careful instructions as to how the classics could be used to promote piety and morality.

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[115] Ibid., p. 77.

[116] Hyma, op. cit., p. 41. Taken form Graig R. Thompson. The Colloquies of Erasmus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. 556.

[117] Ibid., p. 34.

[118] Boyle, M. Christening Pagan Mysteries. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981, p. 11.

[119] Ibid.

Moral training, in Erasmus' opinion, should begin in the home. "It is in the family that the foundation of belief and reverence must be laid."[123] If this is lacking, "No overt teaching of duty can effect its purpose if the prime motive and sanction of conduct which the home supplies is lacking."[124] With a firm moral foundation in place the child's moral development could be continued in formal schooling.

Foremost in Erasmus' educational aim was for the young mind "to take in the seeds of piety; next that it may master and love the liberal studies; third, that it may be instructed in the duties of life; fourth, that from the beginning it may be made accustomed to good manners."[125] The child was to be immersed in the classics where "the student would acquire critical techniques, some of the necessary languages, and an indispensable familiarity with the thought and customs of the world in which Christ lived and taught."[126]

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[120] DeMolen, "Introduction: Opera Omni Desiderii Erasmi, op. cit., p. 2.

[121] Smith, op. cit., p.34. Taken from a preface to a translation of Cicero's De Officiis published on September 10, 1519.

[122] Smith, op. cit., p. 53.

[123] Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education, op. cit., p. 154.

[124] Ibid.

Erasmus did not endorse the classics carte blanche. He even suggested to those opposed to the study of the classics to "pick out from pagan books whatever is best. In studying the ancients follow the example of the bee flying about the garden. Like the bee, suck out only what is wholesome and sweet; reject what is useless and poisonous."[127] On the other hand, he did support the use of the classics because they "could be used to instruct men in higher motives and worthier interests."[128] Even though he recognized that not all of the content in the classics were virtuous, even the more seemly parts could be used to show man's vices, while at the same time emphasizing examples of the pursuit of virtues.[129]

When reading classical writers, Erasmus instructed teachers to give a prominent place to the moral drift of the passage being studied. They were also to highlight worthy examples, give parallel illustrations, and then suggest ways the student could apply the moral values to their daily life.[130] Furthermore Erasmus stressed "that one special reading of each lesson-portion should, if the passage lend itself thereto, be confined to the noting of and comment upon, the moral teaching involved."[131]

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[125] Jarman, J. M. Landmarks in the History of Education: English Education as part of the European Tradition. London: John Murray, Second edition 1963, p. 142.

[126] McConia, op. cit., p. 24.

[127] DeMolen, The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam, op. cit., p. 47.

[128] Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education, op. cit., p. 73.

[129] DeMolen, "Introduction: Opera Omni Desiderii Erasmi, op. cit., p.2.

Woodward provides five arguments Erasmus used to support the use of the classics as a means for better understanding Christianity. The first was that, "the universal Graeco-Roman culture rendered possible the spread of Christianity."[132] Second, the foundations of Christianity lay in ancient society and could be studied apart from it. Third, some of the Church Fathers--Basil, Jerome, Augustine--used and studied ancient literature and therefore provided a model for posterity. Fourth, "The study of grammar, logic, of the orators, poets, and moralists was, as a mere fact of history, of first-rate importance to the early ages of the Church...."[133] Finally, the "pagan stories may be utilised for religious and moral edification by the method of Allegory."[134]

Given this point of view, it is easy to see that Erasmus did not see a conflict between pagan and Christian literature. His desire was to use the former as tools "to prod others to adopt his philosophia Christi."[135]

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[130] Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education, op. cit., p. 158.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., p. 48.

[133] Ibid., p. 49.

[134] Ibid.

[135] DeMolen, The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam, op. cit., p. 36.

The Enchiridion

In 1501 Erasmus composed the Enchiridion (The Handbook of the Christian Knight). "The title, Enchiridion, was borrowed from Epictetus, or from Augustine, who applied it to small treatises on things especially necessary to salvation."[136] Since the Middle Ages the idea of the Christian knight had been common and the imagery intended is of comparing the Christian life to warfare.[137] The Enchiridion was a very popular work and "provides a framework into which his other major writings in the period can be fitted, especially those on politics and education."[138] It is for these reasons that this work will be given careful examination.

The Enchiridion "reflects the wholesome influence of Colet,"[139] and drew heavily from the New Testament. Erasmus included 170 quotes from St. Paul and seventy references from the gospel of Matthew. He also cited classical writers seventy times, two-thirds from Plato and the remainder coming from Virgil and Horace.[140] His desire in writing the treatise was to have a "reformed Christianity centred on lay piety."[141]

Erasmus was distressed by the enigmatic Christianity he saw around him. He wrote:

> It is always a great source of embarrassment to me to realize that the great majority of those who

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[136] Smith, op. cit., p. 56.

[137] Ibid.

[138] McConia, op. cit., p. 19.

[139] Hyma, Albert. Erasmus and the Humanists. New York: F. S. Crofis & Co., 1930, p. 8.

[140] Hyma, The Life of Desiderius Erasmus, op. cit., p. 55.

[141] McConia, op. cit., p. 18.

> bear the name Christian act for the most part as if they were dumb beasts. Most of them are such slaves to their baser appetites that in this spiritual combat they are unable to distinguish between the dictates of reason and the promptings of passion. They actually believe that they are behaving in a reasonable manner so long as they act upon what they feel or see...Their only criterion for right or wrong is that which appeals to their desires.[142]

He attributed this condition to the Fall which has placed the body and soul at odds with one another. The body took delight in the visible world and was enticed by temporal pleasures.[143] The soul, "mindful of its celestial nature struggles strenuously against the weight of the earthly body to press upward...It seeks only those things that are true and everlasting."[144]

The solution to this dilemma was to:

> Assume a perfect life as your goal: having done so, pursue it in a spirit of determination. The human mind has never strongly commanded itself to do anything it has failed to accomplish. One of the most essential elements of Christianity is a willingness to be and act as a Christian.[145]

Erasmus warned that this will not be easy because earthly life is a type of continual warfare and unfortunately many "slumber complacently through the whole siege. Indulgence in pleasure rather than hard work seems to be the norm."[146] The Christian could overcome this feebleness through the appropriation of the weapons of prayer and knowledge to combat vices.[147] Erasmus was convinced that one of the benefits of Biblical knowledge was "that there is really no attack from the enemy, no temptation so violent, that a sincere resort to Holy Writ will not easily get rid of it."[148] Even though it would be a struggle, Erasmus believed the benefits were worth the effort and reinforced his position by quoting the poet Hesiod: "The way of virtue is difficult at first, but after you have arrived at the summit there is perfect tranquillity."[149]

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[142] Erasmus. The Handbook of the Militant Christian. Dolan, John P. (trans and ed). The Essential Erasmus. New York: New American Library a Mentor Book, 1964, p. 47.

[143] Ibid., p. 43.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid., p. 47.

[146] Ibid., p. 30.

The Bible, according to Erasmus, was not the only source for obtaining knowledge. He stated that "a sensible reading of pagan poets and philosophers is a good preparation for the Christian life."[150] Of practical benefit is the writings of the Platonists. "For not only their ideas but their very mode of expression approaches that of the Gospels."[151] He seemed to be very aware of criticism from those who rejected the use of the classics for moral training because he includes a stipulation for those who felt the classics would more harm than good. He wrote to his critics, "If to the pure of heart all things are clean, then to the impure everything appears to be unclean. Whenever the reading of secular selections arouse your baser appetites, then leave them alone."[152] In the reading of the classics or the Bible Erasmus suggested that one should go beyond the literal sense of the passage and look to the spiritual interpretation. He also encouraged the Christian knight to "read those commentators who do not stick so closely to the literal sense."[153] Men like: St. Paul, Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.[154]

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[147] Ibid., p. 35.

[148] Ibid., p. 36.

[149] Ibid., p. 47.

[150] Ibid., p. 36.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

The motivation to attain knowledge was to equip the soldier to achieve peace in life which came through the practice of virtue.[155] Knowledge lent itself to wisdom which aids one in living a virtuous life. The road to a virtuous and happy life came by not allowing "yourself to be led by passions, but submit all things to the judgement or the reason. Be sane and let reason be wise, that is, let it gaze upon decent things."[156] Reason was important to Erasmus because it was very powerful, it could subdue passions or redirect them toward virtue.[157] He always seemed to be mindful of the difficulty of such a task. Therefore he encourages the reader with Plato's words: "Those things which are beautiful are also difficult."[158]

Underlying all of the Enchiridion is the admonition that a virtuous act must not be done out of a sense of compulsion but must flow from good motives.[159] Devotion must be motivated from an inner commitment that expressed itself in an outward demonstration of morality. He illustrated this point when he wrote, "Perhaps you are wont to venerate the relics of the saints....No veneration of Mary is more beautiful than the imitation of her humility. No devotion to the saints is more acceptable to God than the imitation of their virtues."[160] Much more could be written about Erasmus. However, the above survey presents a good foundation for understanding why Erasmus was so influential figure and an overview of his moral and educational ideas.

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[153] Ibid., p. 37.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid., p. 40.

[156] Ibid., p. 46.

[157] Ibid., p. 45.

[158] Ibid., p. 46.

[159] Ibid., p. 51.

John Colet

Very little incontrovertible information is available on John Colet's (1466?-1519) early life; beyond the fact that he was the eldest child of Sir Henry Colet, mercer in London, alderman, and twice lord mayor of London.[161] John "was probably born in the parish of St. Antholin, London, where his family resided."[162] According to Lupton, "It is commonly supposed that he went to the school of St. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street; and, after that, to Magdalen College, Oxford."[163] Colet resolved at an early age to enter the priesthood and before he left Oxford he already possessed several benefices. His father, most likely, was instrumental in securing these for his son, especially since John was not yet an adult, nor was he ordained.[164]

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[160] Ibid., p. 37.

[161] Lupton, J. H. A Life of John Colet, D.D.. Hamdon, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, Inc., reprint 1961, p. 1. Colet had eleven brothers and eleven sisters, all of whom dies before 1498. Stephen, Leslie and Lee, Sidney, (eds). Dictionary of National Biography, Volume 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967-68, p. 778.

[162] Dictionary of National Biography, op. cit., p. 777. Dictionary of National Biography hereafter known as D.N.B..

[163] Lupton, op. cit., p. 15. Lupton's account of Colet seems to be recognized as the standard work of the life of Colet.

[164] D.N.B., op. cit., p. 778. The benefices he held at this time were St. Mary Dennington, Sufforlk; Dustan and All Saints; St. Nicholas, Thurning, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire.

After completing his studies at Oxford, Colet was drawn to the Continent (1493-1496) where he visited Paris and several humanistic centres in Italy. During his journey he studied canon and civil law, the writings of Aquinas and Scotus, and the Church Fathers.[165] According to Erasmus, of all his studies, "the study of the Church Fathers...was Colet's main pre-occupation on his continental travels."[166] He was impressed by their eloquence and classical learning. It seems that as a result of his travels and studies in Europe, along with his friendships with humanists both in England and abroad, as well as, his studies at Oxford (although not a humanistic institution, Colet did have access to some classical works), Colet became a humanist.[167]

Sometime in 1496 or possibly 1497 Colet began a series of lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and later on the apostle's first letter to the Corinthians. These lectures were a break from the traditional nature of divinity lectures. Normally these lectures were given by a priest with a degree in theology, neither of which he had at this time. In addition, the expositions "were neither a traditional series of devotional sermons nor a class-room commentary."[168] Furthermore, the subject of these lectures was not "usually a scriptural text but a section of the

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[165] Hyma, The life of Desiderius Erasmus, op. cit., p. 60, 61.

[166] Chatterjee, Kalyan K. In Praise of Learning: John Colet and Literary Humanism in Education. New Dehi: Affiliated East-West Press Pvt. Ltd., 1974, p. 16.

[167] Ibid., p. 21, 22.

[168] Duhamel, P. Albert. "The Oxford Lectures of John Colet: An Essay in Defining the English Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas (14:4) October 1953, p. 493.

Sentences of Peter Lombard or other similar work."[169] Colet clearly broke from the scholastic method by avoiding all citation of the Schoolmen and citing instead the early Church Fathers and Neo-Platonists.[170] He also chose the "grammatical method of the Italian humanists and the early Patristic writers as opposed to employing the dialectical method of the Scholastics in expounding his text.[171] The consequences of such a shift in methodology is that although the scholastic and humanist would examine the same texts each would possess an entirely different sense because "to change the manner of reading Aristotle, Vergil, Moses and St. Paul is to change one's conception of God, nature, man, morals and religion."[172]

Scholasticism was rejected by Colet because for the scholastics "dialectic became the only important part of the trivium and grammar was subordinated to it."[173] He probably was sympathetic to John of Salisbury (d. 1180) who "criticized the neglect of grammar with the subsequent decline in classical taste and style and loss of fundamental comprehension of literal meaning."[174] In theological studies the Scholastics favored the allegorical, topological and analogical interpretations of Scripture over the literal.[175] Aquinas followed this method and "Colet disliked 'that sort of neotenic theologians, who grow old in mere subtleties and sophistical cavillings!"[176] Colet preferred the literal interpretation of a passage with consideration of its literary style and historical setting. An example of this difference between the scholastics and the humanists is seen in the contrast between Abelard's and Colet's commentary on Romans v.12. The passage states, "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned."[177] Abelard in his commentary dealt, in part, with original sin, the speculative nature of sin and its transmission from generation to generation. Colet on the other hand "is not primarily concerned with theoretical or doctrinal content, but identifies himself in spirit and purpose with St. Paul as he wrote the Epistle to the Romans."[178]

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[169] Ibid.

[170] Ibid., p. 494.

[171] Ibid. Duhamel further notes that, "This substitution of the grammatical method of St. Jerome and Lorenzo Valla for the dialectical exposition of Peter Abailard distinguishes the Renaissance from the Middle Ages." Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid., p. 495.

[174] Ibid., p. 495, 496.

Colet distinguished himself as a Christian humanist and a reformer. As a Christian humanist he held to the total depravity of man and after the Fall "man had no whole and undefiled nature, no unclouded reason, no upright will. Whatever men did among themselves, was foolish and wicked."[179] The solution to this state was salvation by

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[175] Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 40.

[176] Hunt, Ernest N. Dean Colet and His Theology. London: S.P.C.K., 1956, p. 9. Neotenic comes from neoteny and means, "The retention of juvenile characteristics in adult life." The Oxford English Dictionary, Volume X. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Second edition, 1989.

[177] The Bible, King James Version (1611). London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1956.

[178] Duhamel, op. cit., p. 497.

[179] Hunt, op. cit., p. 11.

God's grace.[180] Colet, the reformer, saw corruption in society and the Church. He was especially outspoken about the corruption within the clergy. In a sermon delivered to an assembly of clergy gathered to "consider the extirpation of the Lollard heresy, which had lately revived,"[181] he spoke against

> their moral laxity, greed, immersion in secular business, and he called for a series of specific reforms--stricter examination of candidates for orders, the gift of benefices to worthy men, rehabilitation of the religious orders, more frequent provincial councils, strictly canonical elections to bishoprics, injunctions against simony, non-residence, dissolute clerics, the wasteful use of episcopal revenues and the "filths and uncleanliness" of ecclesiastical courts.[182]

This can be the man Erasmus met in 1499 when he was first introduced to Colet at Oxford. Colet and Erasmus grew to be very close friends and these two men, along with Thomas More, became the nucleus of a group known as the London reformers. Other prominent men included in this group were Grocyn, Linacre and Lily. "All these English friends of Colet were deeply religious, yet remarkably liberal towards the study of the classical humanities."[183]

As a result of his lectures Colet earned both a B.D. and the D.D. degrees. Also during his time at Oxford he was ordained a deacon (December 17, 1497) and three months later on March 25th he was ordained a priest.[184] Colet moved from Oxford to London in 1505 to secure the prestigious appointment as Dean of St. Paul's.[185] Later that year his father died, leaving him sole heir of a "considerable sum of money."[186] Colet used a portion of the inheritance to establish a school in St. Paul's Churchyard. This school quickly rose to prominence as one of the leading grammar schools in England and served as a model for grammar schools.

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[180] Artz, op. cit., p. 76.

[181] D.N.B., op. cit., p. 781. The sermon was delivered on February 6, 1511 or 1512.

[182] Dickens, A. G. The English Reformation. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1964, p. 90.

[183] Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 15.

[184] Lupton, op. cit., p. 120.

Colet and the Classics

Plato and the neo-Platonists, the Church Fathers and the New Testament were all familiar to Colet. He was, however, selective in his humanism, "it was used by him only in the service of the Christian Gospel; in short his was a Christocentric Humanism."[187] Therefore he saw the primary importance of a classical education to achieve "an adequate education that provided the Christian with not only a sound knowledge of the Scriptures, but also the ability to interpret them."[188] According to Colet, the classics served two major functions in helping the student to better understand the Bible. First, the style of the New Testament writers "was not unlike that of the Greek and Latin writers, who employed rhetorical figures and schemes. The implication is that the classical literary education would be of great help in the understanding and expounding of the scriptures."[189] Second, the classics, especially those written prior to the life of Christ contained much moral wisdom that could be emulated.[190] Therefore he encouraged the reading of good literature as a means to moral enrichment. For Colet, good literature "came to represent a moral as well as a rhetorical approach to classical letters.[191]

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[185] D.N.B., op. cit., p. 780.

[186] McDonnell, Michael F. J. A History of St. Paul's School. London: Chapman & Hall, 1909, p. 60.

[187] Hunt, op. cit., p. 10.

[188] Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 49.

[189] Ibid., p. 51.

The Church Fathers were held up by Colet as further evidence for the endorsement of classical studies. Origen, Basil, Jerome, Chrysostom and Augustine all drew on the classics in their theological writings. Especially important to Colet was Augustine because he taught the value of a classical education.[192] According to Augustine, pagan writers could be used for Christian purposes. He states, "If those who are called philosophers, especially the Platonists, have said things by chance that are truthful and conformable to our faith, we must not only have no fear of them, but even appropriate them for our own use."[193]

Two Florentine humanists, Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, had an influence on Colet and his affirmation of the classics. Both of these Italians "were regarded by their contemporaries as valuable contributors to the study of theology by their adaption of Platonism to Christianity."[194] Although Colet was influenced by Ficino and Ficino's disciple Pico, he did not endorse all that they taught. Colet and Ficino,

> both held that in the course of human history, God had used various media through which to reveal truth. But contrary to Ficino, who concluded that therefore all creeds are at heart the same, Colet maintained that God's media of revelation were

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[190] Ibid., p. 31.

[191] Ibid., p. 54.

[192] Ibid., p. 18.

[193] Ibid., p. 50.

[194] Ibid., p. 19.

> progressively superior, so that only Christians could attain the full truth--that is, be 'fully taught'.[195]

Some of the differences between Colet and the Florentine humanists may, in part, illustrate some of the differences between the humanism of Italy and that of northern Europe and England. Ficino held Socrates and Plato as religious philosophers and esteemed Plato to be "divine Plato". "The Dialogues became a reflection of the Bible, to be read and taught in church services,"[196] thus elevating pagan philosophy and placing it as a "sister" to Christianity. "Ficino's harmonizing led him into a perversion not of pagan philosophy but rather of Christian dogma...,"[197] he believed in middle spirits and "the notion that the angels and daemons participate in the creation of human souls."[198] Ficino also held to a belief of Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) who "believed in a divinely inspired tradition of wisdom originating with the Hebrew Cabalists and Egyptians and extending through Plato, the Neoplatonists, and scholastic thinkers to his own time."[199] Cusa concludes that "since there is but one God, there can be but one religion beneath a diversity of rites."[200]

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[195] Miles, Leland. John Colet and the Platonic Tradition. LaSalle, Ill.: Open Court Publishing Company, 1961, p. 24.

[196] Ibid., p. 9.

[197] Ibid., p. 11.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Ibid., p. 13. A Hebrew Cabalist is one who follows the oral tradition handed down from Moses to the Rabbis of the Mishnah and the Talmud. The Oxford English Dictionary, Volume II, op. cit., p. 746.

[200] Ibid., p. 14.

As a result Ficino's desire was to harmonize not only "the Platonic Tradition with Christianity, but both of these with all other religio-philosophical systems."[201] C. S. Lewis' assessment of Ficino's and the other Florentine Platonists' attempts to harmonize all religions was that, "though the Florentine Platonists were wholly pious in intention, their work deserves the epithet pagan more than any other movement of that age."[202] A consequence of this "sisterhood" approach was "a blurring of crucial distinctions, an alteration of orthodox theology in the direction of philosophy, and consequently a frequent blundering into unequivocable heresy."[203] Even though Colet spoke of "Ficino in extremely flattering terms"[204] he seems to only have adopted from Ficino those ideas that suited his purposes.

Colet, as well as northern humanists in general, seem to side more with an earlier strand of humanism. Clement of Alexandria (150-213) attempted a fusion of pagan and Christian thought. Although Clement was not the first to do this, he was credited with being the "first to crystallize the proper nature of that approach for later generations."[205] He believed that Greek teaching could lead rationally-minded men to Christ.[206] Augustine (354-430) affirmed Clement's position. The difference between Clement, Augustine, and Colet and the Florentine humanists is the Clementine approach rejected the "sisterhood" position and held that "the philosophies of the Platonic Tradition must stand in the relation of handmaid to master."[207]

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[201] Ibid., p. 15.

[202] Ibid. Quoted for C. S. Lewis. English Literature in the Sixteenth Century. London: Oxford University Press, 1954, p. 11.

[203] Ibid., p. 17.

[204] Ibid., p. 19.

[205] Ibid., p. 2.

[206] Ibid., p. 3.

Conclusion

The foundation for the establishing of humanism in England was laid early in the fifteenth century through the efforts of Duke Humphrey, along with a host of other puissant Englishmen. The patronage offered by these wealthy men made the collection of classics and the travel to Italy to study and copy texts possible. Some of those who studied in Italy became influential in the spreading of humanism in England once they returned.

Early in the sixteenth century, humanism took root and blossomed through the efforts of a number of influential men, Elyot, Fisher, Linacre, Grocyn, More, Colet and Erasmus. Of all these bright lights of English humanism, Colet and Erasmus shone as two of the brightest. John Colet teamed up with Erasmus to lay the foundation for St. Paul's School in London. Their influence in education extended beyond St. Paul's to many of the other grammar schools in England.

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[207] Ibid., p. 17.

CHAPTER THREE

English Grammar Schools I:
An Examination of Curriculum used in Teaching Morals.

Humanist education focused on the study of pure Latin, not the dog Latin of the middle ages. A fluency in Latin was the acid test of an educated man. Foster Watson notes that "the learned man could not be better distinguished from the unlearned than by his ability to speak Latin."[1] Of critical importance to educators was the careful selection of the curriculum in order to provide material that was appropriate for the students' academic and moral development. The wedding of knowledge and virtue was a foundation for humanistic learning. Both Colet and Erasmus reflected the early humanist "ideal of the union of eloquence and wisdom, of virtue and learning."[2] The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the nature of moral education in the grammar schools by considering some of the major authors and texts and examining them for their implicit and explicit treatment of moral education.

Due to the limitations of available texts and English translations of texts a comprehensive survey of the curriculum in grammar schools in England during the first half of the sixteenth century is impossible. However, because St. Paul's grammar school was a model for many other grammar schools and because Erasmus' educational writings were widely used in grammar schools, St. Paul's and Erasmus will serve as representative models. This will in no way weaken the significance of this survey because, although "not all schools were the same in every respect...there were clear similarities in curriculum and procedures used."[3] De ratione studii by Erasmus was one of the key books which gave a unity to the curriculum in the grammar schools. In this work "the new principles which were to underlie the grammar-school teaching for many generations to come were set forth. Not only this, but the courses of study, the authors to be read and the textbooks to be followed were prescribed."[4] Colet fully approved of Erasmus' De ratione studii.[5]

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[1] Watson, Foster. The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice. Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968, p. 5. (Emphasis in the original).

[2] Chatterjie, Praise of Learning: John Colet and Literary Humanism in Education. New Delhi: Affiliated East-West Press, Pvt. Ltd., 1974, p.81.

A premise in all of Erasmus' writings was "that liberal education was the soundest training for youth who would later serve church and state and the learned professions...."[6] Inherent in this training was the development of moral character and virtue. Erasmus was not alone in his desire to promote moral improvement. An interest in moral development was widespread among the better classes in the English Renaissance. This is affirmed by research done by Bennett who notes that, "A survey of the books published in English up to 1557 cannot fail to note the predominating position held by works of a religious and devotional nature."[7] He also found that close to fifty percent of the books published by three large publishers in England were religious.[8] In addition he writes, "other printers of this period, for the most part, show a corresponding preference for religious works, and we shall not be far wrong in thinking that the printers, as a body, gave something like half of their output to this side of their business."[9] This supports the assertain that people, especially in the middle and upper classes, affirmed the value of moral training.

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[3] Thompson, Craig R. "Introduction," The Collected Works of Erasmus, Volume 23. Craig R. Thompson (ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978, p. xxii.

[4] Bennett, H. S. English Books and Readers 1475 to 1557. Cambridge: The University Press, 1952, p. 87.

[5] Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 70. Thompson affirms this as well when he states, "For the better understanding of the St. Paul's curriculum and that of many other English schools thereafter, De ratione studii is even more necessary than De copia." CWE, vol. 23, op. cit., p. xliii.

[6] CWE, vol. 23, op. cit., p. xxii.

The case for moral education in grammar schools was further strengthened by the humanists who were often closely associated with education. Humanism in England had a strong religious flavor and Kristeller asserts that, "Many, if not all, of the humanists were teachers, so that their moral thought was strongly centred on the education of the young."[10] These men also held that literature should reflect moral truth. Therefore, with the support of the most influential classes in society and the commitment of the teachers as to the value of moral training, it is little wonder that the emphasis on morals took such a prominent role in education. This attitude was evident at St. Paul's where moral instruction was stressed in order to produce virtuous men who would serve their community of Londoners."[11] "The school's religious purpose was expressed in its dedication to the Child Jesus, protector and guide in youthful piety."[12] Thus, "The worship of God and the teaching of the Christian faith and the Christian way of life [occupied] a prominent place in the curriculum."[13]

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[7] Bennett, op. cit., p. 65.

[8] Ibid. The terms 'religious' and 'moral' are used interchangeably.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Kristeller, Paul O. Renaissance Thought II: Papers on Humanism and the Arts. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965, p. 26.

Using the Classics for Moral Education

The humanists' defense of the use of classical literature has already been discussed in the previous chapter. The arguments do not need to be re-articulated here; nevertheless, it is important to discuss how the classics and humanistic literature were used as a means for moral instruction.

The classics were valuable because they were considered superior examples of Latin style. Furthermore, according to Erasmus one of the primary reasons for learning Latin and Greek was "because almost everything worth learning is set forth in these two languages."[14] However, caution did need to be exercised because there were some unwholesome passages in the ancient writings. Therefore care needed to be taken in selecting appropriate literature to use. Nevertheless, due to the dependence on the classics for the bulk of the grammar school curriculum, the humanists, and Erasmus in particular, defended the use of the classics against various attacks which centred on their pagan origins.

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[11] McConia, James K. English Humanists and Reformation Politics: Under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 48.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Hunt, E. W. Dean Colet and His Theology. London: S.P.C.K., 1956, p. 13. This religious emphasis was common to many grammar schools. Watson states that the reciting of a Psalm, prayers or the singing of a Psalm was not an uncommon part of grammar school statutes. See Watson, op. cit., pp. 39-45.

[14] Erasmus. De ratione studii. Collected Works of Erasmus, Volume 24. Craig R. Thompson (ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978, p. 667.

A common way Erasmus got around indictments levied against him for his use of the classics was to use allegory as a means by which they could be interpreted within a Christian rubric. Woodward recognized this when he wrote, "One purpose for this desire to use allegory was a method by which the ancient culture could be reconciled with the Christian ideal."[15] The use of allegory can render harmless the offensive topics in the poetry of Homer and Vergil, and the entire Platonic philosophy.[16] Mynors acknowledges Erasmus' immense respect for ancient writers, but he also notes that, "he never lets them limit his independence; and this is one reason why he could do so much with them."[17] What Mynors seems to be suggesting is that Erasmus would interpret the classics in a manner that suited his purposes.[18] This could be why the largely illicit love, which was the subject matter of Terence did not worry Erasmus. He thought of Terence's plays as "providing lessons in philosophy, and in the statutes of one sixteenth-century school we find him [Terence] included among those authors 'which may induce and teach them to vertue to godliness and to honest Behaviour'."[19]

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[15] Woodward, W. H. Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964, p. 50.

[16] Ibid., p. 49.

[17] CWE, vol. 23, op. cit., p. 124.

[18] Caspari describes how some humanists interpreted Plato to suit their own beliefs. Caspari states that, "They tended to temper their acceptance of the Platonic world of ideas by combining it with the Christian ideas of God...." Caspari, F. Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1968, p. 17.

Evidence given by Kristeller supports that there were some who protested the use of pagan literature because of its potential for corrupting the reader, weakening Christianity and reviving the pagan religion. However, he asserts that these people were probably just over-reacting because the use of pagan literature did not revive pagan religion. Kristeller states that although pagan literature was used there were:

> very few attempts to revive the pagan religions of classical antiquity, although this has been charged by contemporaries and by modern scholars in a few instances. Although much was made of pagan mythology in the poetry and also in the prose treatises of the period, it was not intended to replace the use of Christian religious thought and imagery but to supplement it.[20]

One practical way the classics could supplement Christian teaching was to use the ancient writers as a resource for the student in acquiring a "fund of moral ideas, sentences, and examples that would give him the necessary preparation to face the tasks of his own life."[21]

Erasmus gave detailed instruction to masters on how to teach grammar and classical authors in De ratione studii. An important aspect of language instruction was the teaching of morals. In stressing the need for much practice in grammar exercises Erasmus noted that, "the reading of good authors should be constantly interspersed with those exercises so that the pupils always have material for imitation."[22] It was important to understand that imitation is two fold: first, the imitation of the various authors' style and command of the language, second, the imitation of the virtuous qualities discussed in the passage.

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[19] Clarke, M. L. Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959, p. 9.

[20] Kristeller, op. cit., p. 39.

[21] Ibid., p. 44.

This dual purpose is clearly seen when Erasmus detailed at length how the master was to instruct children when dealing with a passage. The master should instruct students about grammar, style, word usage, historical context of the passage and parallel passages.[23] Erasmus specifically cited several of the Church Fathers as models for writing: Origen for his writing style, Chrysostom for his subtlety in using language, and Ambrose who was wonderfully rich in metaphors.[24] After dealing with the "technical" aspects he stated that the master should, "turn to philosophy and skillfully bring out the moral implication of the poet's stories, or employ them as patterns for example, the story of Pylades and Orestes to show the excellence of friendship...."[25]

If, in reading an author, the passage contained a bad example, Erasmus advised the master to use this as an opportunity to direct the students' attention to positive lessons that could be learned by emphasising the appropriate moral response. He used one of Virgil's Eclogues as an example. It appears that Virgil discussed a friendship that to the humanist would be damaging. Erasmus demonstrated how this could be remedied by citing numerous examples from various authors, including the Scriptures, of the morally proper aspects of friendship.[26] He concluded his remarks by advising the master that if he points out the unacceptable behavior, and:

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[22] Erasmus, De ratione studii, CWE, vol. 24, op. cit., p. 679.

[23] Ibid., p. 682, 683.

[24] Ibid., p. 673. The modelling aspect of language learning was very important to Erasmus. Thus one of the important themes of humanistic learning was to be saturated in the classics in order to improve one's command of Latin. "For a true ability to speak correctly is best fostered both by conversing and consorting with those who speak correctly and by habitual reading of the best stylists." Ibid., p. 669.

[25] Ibid., p. 683.

> thereupon shows the passages which indicate the mistaken and boorish affections of Corydon, I believe the minds of his audience will suffer no ill effects, unless someone comes to the work who has already been corrupted. For such a person will have brought his infection with him and will not have acquired it from this activity.[27]

In order for the master to be successful in this task he needs to amass a wealth of examples that could reinforce correct behavior. In order to accomplish this Erasmus encourages teachers, when studying on their own, to carefully observe the authors' diction, style and "if there is any adage, historical parallel, or maxim worth committing to memory"[28] and write these down for future reference.[29] The Adages are a vast assembly of examples of this type. The compiling of these examples and quotations was a potentially powerful tool in the hands of the humanist because these quotations, "served as authorities--as confirmations of the validity of what the author was trying to say."[30] The Renaissance humanists adopted this practice and held that a sentence from a classical writer served as an authority when stating a case or argument.[31] The humanists also acknowledged the moral authority of the ancients. Kristeller states that, "The humanists considered classical antiquity their moral guide and model in thought and literature and their moral writings are accordingly studded with quotations from Greek and Roman authors...."[32] This explains, in part, why there was such a liberal use of the ancients in humanist writings.

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[26] Ibid., p. 683ff.

[27] Ibid., p. 687.

[28] Ibid., p. 670.

[29] Erasmus gave a sampling of noteworthy examples from a variety of sources. "It would be no great trouble to collect a number of examples of this type from the historians, in particular Valerius Maximus. Or he should employ mythology, for example: Hercules won immortality for himself by vanquishing monsters; or the Muses take special delight in springs and groves and shun the smoky cities." Ibid., p. 676.

Classical Authors used in Grammar Schools

The first books to be read by young students, according to Erasmus, were the Proverbs of the Old Testament and the Gospels in the Vulgate. Along with these, Plutarch's Apotheqms and Moralia and the writings of Seneca were recommended. Aesop was the first author to be consulted when learning Greek.[33] It is clear from these authors and books that the moral development of the student was important. Smith declares, "It is plain that the moral element is preponderant in this choice, the predilection for sententious precepts being especially marked."[34] Erasmus defended his selection of these authors as ones "wholly blameless in the eyes of most strict Christian educators."[35] Furthermore, he maintained that, "The foundations of moral teaching as well as practice in Latin are hereby secured."[36]

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[30] Kristeller, op. cit., p. 37.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 26.

[33] Both Smith and Woodward note these books. The Vulgate is the Latin translation of the Bible. See Woodward, op. cit. p. 111 and Smith, Erasmus: A Study of His life, Ideals, and Place in History. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1923 p. 306.

[34] Smith, op. cit., p. 306.

A general list of additional writers named by Erasmus included: Lucian, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, Terence, Plautus, Vergil, Horace, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust. Terence, Cicero, Horace and Lucian were added to the general list of authors to be studied due to the influence of the humanists during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[37] The apparent goal of the educator was the following. "To distil the lessons of the classics and the early Christian writings, and then to instil them into the minds of youth, seemed to that and to many subsequent generations the highest wisdom."[38] The humanists' interpretation, and more precisely Erasmus' interpretation, of some of these ancient authors will be discussed later when the humanistic writings that were used in grammar schools are considered.

Primers, Grammars and Exercise Books used in Grammar Schools

In addition to the studying of the classics, students studied grammars and contemporary humanist educational writings. These writings drew heavily on the classics for examples for students to imitate. Under the broad heading of "grammars", primers, grammars, exercise books, and Erasmus' De Copia will be examined with the primary purpose of noting how moral teaching was transmitted to students while studying language.

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[35] Woodward, Erasmus, op. cit., p. 111.

[36] Ibid., p. 112.

[37] See Ibid. and McMahon, C. P. Education in Fifteenth-Century England. New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968, p. 104.

[38] Smith, op. cit., p. 308.

The primer was an extremely popular means of instructing children and adults.[39] The "primer" is believed to have originated in England as early as the fourteenth century and was known as the Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Butterworth explains the significance of "Hours" in the title: "In the medieval Church certain prayers and devotions were assigned to certain portions of the day, and these 'Hours'--consisting mainly of prayers, psalms, hymns, and adorations of the Virgin or of the Cross..."[40] were usually said at six, nine, twelve noon and three in the afternoon.

By the latter half of the fourteenth century these books were translated into English from Latin.[41] According to Birchenough in "The Prymer in English" the first primer printed in English was in about 1534 by John Byddell. The title of this book was A Prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers & godly meditations, very necessary for all that under stonde not the Latyne tongue.[42] The primary purpose of the primer was to teach children how to read Latin, which was the immediate goal of all formal education at the time.[43] Primers commonly contained the alphabet, "a list of vowels and their various combinations with the consonants, from 'ab', 'eb', 'ib',...down to 'ug' and 'gu'."[44] Along with learning how to read the child also got a strong dose of moral teaching. A primer could contain parts or all of the following: Jesus' seven last words on the cross, the Lord's prayer, Hail Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, various prayers, religious verse and other devotional material.[45] In addition, "a significant amount of Scripture--from forty to sixty Psalms in their entirety as well as familiar passages from the New Testament and occasional excerpts from the Old"[46] were often included. One of the best known prayers that appeared in primers begins, " 'The eyes of euery thynge do loke vp/ and they hope in the good lorde/ & thow gyuest them theyr fode in tyme conuenient,' and ends, 'The kynge of eternall glory make vs to be pertenars [i.e.,partners] of the celestyall mele. Amen."[47] Another example of a prayer that was sometimes sung is:

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[39] Butterworth, Charles. The English Primers (1539 - 1545). New York: Octagon Books, 1971, p. 1. Butterworth notes that the origin of the word is obscure but, "it had been discovered that they were particularly well adapted to teaching children how to read." See Butterworth, Charles. "Early Primers for the Use of Children" in The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America. Volume 43, 1949, p. 374. Birchenough affirms Butterworth's assessment of the inconclusive nature for the source of the word "primer'. See Birchenough, Edwyn. "The Prymer in English" in The Library, Fourth Series, 18(2)1937, pp. 177-194.

[40] Butterworth, The English Primers (1529 - 1545), op. cit., p. 2.

[41] Ibid., p. 4.

[42] Birchenough, op. cit., p. 182.

> God be in my heed [i.e., head]
> And in myn vnderstandynge
> God be in myneyen

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[43] Butterworth, The English Primers (1529 - 1545), op. cit., p. 7.

[44] Butterworth, "Early Primers for the Use of Children", op. cit., p. 376.

[45] Birchenough, op. cit., p. 185, 186.

[46] Butterworth, The English Primers (1529 - 1545), op. cit., p. 1.

[47] Butterworth, "Early Primers for the Use of Children", op. cit., p. 376. The passages are copied directly from resources that are cited. This is why the spellings of some of the words will vary from passage to passage.

And in my lokynge
God be in my mouthe
And in my spekynge
God be in my herte
And in my thynkynge
God be at myn ende
And my departynge.[48]

The grammars were another means by which the student was exposed to moral teaching while learning Latin. The moral instruction was not part of the "hidden curriculum" but as stated previously was an intentional aspect of the educational process. The prefix to Lily's Grammar (1546 edition) recommended to teachers that after studying declensions, conjugations and syntax the boys should read "some pretty Book, wherein is contained not only the Eloquence of the Tongue, but also a good plain Lesson of Honesty and Godliness."[49] This grammar, written by Lily but revised thoroughly by Erasmus, had wide circulation and eventually "became the standard textbook for English schools."[50] Henry VIII (1542 edition) "in a preface addressed to 'all schoolmaisters and teachers of grammar within his realm', laid down that this was the sole text-book which they were to use."[51]

Erasmus' De copia was an influential text used in grammar schools. "T. W. Baldwin discusses at great length the important place of the De copia in the educational pattern of the time."[52] De copia was not intended for beginner students and according to Craig Thompson may not have been popular among the older students who used this textbook. He states that De copia, "may seem technical and dull even though instructive. Admittedly it is not a book to draw children from play....But on the whole the book is logical and lucid when taken on its own terms. Erasmus assured Colet that it was suitable for boys to read."[53] The work was dedicated to John Colet (1512) and was used at St. Paul's. During Erasmus' lifetime it went though at least eighty-five editions.[54]

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[48] Butterworth, The English Primers (1529 - 1545), op. cit., p. 6.

[49] Clarke, op. cit., p. 7.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Bennett, op. cit., p. 89.

[52] Erasmus. Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam: On Copia of Words and Ideas. Donald King and H. David Rix (translators). Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1963, p. 6. This work is also know as De Copia.

The book was an instruction manual in writing Latin and the training of an orator. The student learned how to be eloquent, using proper style while avoiding tautology--the repletion of the same word or expression.[55] One of the exercises designed to help the student to minimize repetitious use of a phrase was to practice taking a phrase and restating it in as many different ways as possible.[56] Erasmus was very adept at this type of exercise, but it would not be hard to imagine the tedium of such a task for the students.

Moral training in De copia took two primary forms. The first was by direct instruction in writing. For example, Erasmus advised students about the use of obscene words:

> Obscene words ought to be far from all speech of Christians. No attention should be paid to the Cynics who do not think that it is shameful to say anything that it is not shameful to do; and that what is not shameful to do in private, it is not shameful to do in public, such as urinating or relieving the bowels. But, on the contrary, it is

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[53] CWE, vol. 23, op. cit, p. xxxvi.

[54] Erasmus, De copia, op. cit., p. 2.

[55] Ibid., p. 16.

[56] Ibid., p. 17

> not always shameful to say what it is shameful to do.[57]

Erasmus also communicated moral values by deprecating the use of harsh words:

> Harsh words are those that are improperly used in a figurative sense. He has been censured who said that the republic was castrated by the death of Camillus, when he meant that the strength of the state failed with the death of that man. And Horace rightly censures a certain Furius because he wrote: 'Jupiter spit hoary snow all over the wintry Alps.' A similar example would be: he destroyed fields of peace; he stirred up mountains of war. It would have been less harsh had he taken a metaphor from the calm and the disturbed sea.[58]

The second way moral lessons were transmitted was through the citing of examples from the classics to reinforce the lesson. An example of this is when Erasmus gave a number of methods of improving one's writing. When explaining these methods he illustrated his point by referring to an ancient author. The example often, directly or indirectly, reflected a moral tone. The following example highlighted the evil consequences of war. The lesson Erasmus was teaching was one method on how to amplify a phrase. The general statement was: "We charge the war to your account." Erasmus wrote:

> You will be able to expand it in this way: A treasury exhausted against barbarian soldiers, a youth broken by hardships, crops trampled underfoot, herds driven off, burned villages and farms everywhere, fields lying waste, overturned walls, looted homes, pillaged shrines, so many childless old people, so many orphaned children, so many widowed matrons, so many virgins shamefully outraged, the character of so many young people ruined by license,..the obliteration of religion, the chaos of all things human and divine, the government of the state corrupted,

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[57] Ibid., p. 30.

[58] Ibid.

> this whole array of evils that arises from war, I say, we shall lay to your charge alone, since indeed you were the author of the war.[59]

The moral lesson in this passage was subtle, but nevertheless, a moral lesson was implicit.

Another resource that combined the mastery of Latin and moral instruction was the use of an exercise book. A teacher at the Magdalen School, Oxford, in the late fifteenth century wrote A Fifteenth Century School Book for such a purpose.[60] The student would be given an English sentence or paragraph and he was to translate it to Latin. The subject matter of these sentences or paragraphs "dealt with the every day affairs of every day peoples: schoolboys and adults at study, work and play in Oxford, in London, and in the country."[61]

Another goal of these exercises was to teach Latin as a medium of ordinary conversation.[62] Boys were encouraged to collect these exercises in order to have good examples readily at hand. "In early Tudor times, collections of such exercises were known as vulgaria because they consisted of matter 'vulgar' or colloquial in character."[63] Gradually the colloquies of Erasmus and Vives which contained "formal dialogues in what was considered impeccable Latin"[64] largely replaced the vulgaria.

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[59] Erasmus, De copia, op. cit., p. 32.

[60] William Nelson (ed). A Fifteenth Century School Book (From a manuscript in the British Museum). Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956, p. vii.

[61] Ibid. Nelson also notes that. "Cardinal Wolsey, who was himself at one time a Magdalen School grammar master, urged teachers to invent exercises 'not silly or pointless, but with a clear well-phrased meaning which a boy's mind might sympathize with'." Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. x

[63] Ibid., p. ix.

A Fifteenth Century School Book is only one example of a number of such books that were used in grammar schools. However, the dual purposes of teaching good Latin and proper morals were common threads that wove their way through all these works. Nelson states that, "Colet, Erasmus, Wolsey, and, as we shall see, the author of the Magdalen School vulgaria, placed primary emphasis on the imitation of good examples as the best method of teaching Latin expression."[65]

An important contribution that these vulgaria make to the historian is that, in addition to informing us of the type of moral teaching that was taking place, they also reveal the moral climate of the period. Nelson declares that, "The value of these vulgaria as mirrors of men and manners is well recognized."[66]

The messages of these exercises were very straightforward. In the section dealing with "Morning", the value of church and cleanliness was reinforced. The student would translate: "It is X of the cloke everyday or I ryse, and yet I washe my handes and goth to church and I am as redy to dyne as thou."[67] The student also learned that mornings should not be wasted by sleeping late. "It is pite to cheryshe such scolars as slepyth styll all the mornynges, takyng no thought how much tyme thei losse."[68]

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[64] Ibid., p. x.

[65] Ibid., p. xii.

[66] Ibid., p. xiv.

[67] Ibid., p. 3.

[68] Ibid.

Under the heading of "Food and Drink" the student learns about the consequences of a boy who did not practice self-control at a social gathering. Due to the effects of too much alcohol this over-indulgent boy spent all his money, made a fool of himself, and the next morning lamented "whan I woke my hede akyde that methought every pece went from other, and my stomake was overchargede with the mele I ete the day before...."[69]

Additional topics covered in the exercise book were: "The Boy and his Family", "Sports, Games, and Holidays", "Friendship and Perfidy", "Men and Manners of Antiquity", and "The Boy, His Master and His Master's Rod". Some of the exercises under this last, ominous, section reinforced respect for authority and the justice of being punished when the student was negligent in his school work. The student diligently translated these sentences:

> 131. Who callith me? what, youe, master? here am I redy to do eny thynge that ye woll commaunde me.
>
> 132. I laboure and enforce as moche as I can to please the maister in all thynges, the which, if I may bryng it aboute, I shall not do to hym so great a pleasure as to myselfe, for ther is not mann to whom I am more beholde to, howbeit, he doth nothynge for me for nought, but he of my father shall have rewardys accordynge to hys labours.
>
> 137. The rules that I must sy to my maister ar scantly halfe writyn, wherfore I am worthy to be bett.[70]

Loyalty to the master and the justice of punishment for those who were delinquent in their work were two clearly communicated lessons.

By including a section on "Men and Manners of Antiquity", the master could provide instruction on the classics as well as teaching Latin and manners. The following exercise drew on Virgil and Cicero to exalt commitment to study, hard work and singlemindedness.

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[69] Ibid., p. 9.

[70] Ibid., p. 32, 33.

> 272. It is no mervell although olde auctorus, as Virgill and tully and many other of the Romans, were more eloquent than the auctors that be nowadais, for they sett their myndes so greatly in connynge that no desire of great goodys, nor voluptuosnes of fleshe, no covyteisness of worshipe, no vayneglory of batell, no wordly laboure coulde trouble their myndes, but gave themselff utterly to vertu, puttynge away all maner of thyngs which myght withdrawe them from studye.[71]

Many of the exercises contained under the heading of "Good Counsel" were clear, direct moral teachings:

> 237. It is the part of good yonge menn, as an eloquent and an holy mann writyth, for to have the drede of almyghty gode and to do reverence to hire [their] father and mother, to obey olde menn, to kepe hire chastite (or, virginite), and not to dispyse lowlynesse (or, humylite), to love mercy and shamfastnes which thynges be unto youghe a faire ornament (or, bewtye).[72]

There are other exercises that were modeled after Old Testament proverbs.

> 251. Offise or dignite getyth favor and great name, but office without honeste bryngeth a mann to great rebuke and shame.
>
> 252. Pacience is a great tokyn of wisdome, likewise as hedynes or testines is a tokyn of foly.
>
> 253. He that hath but litell and can be content is better at ease than he that is riche and alwaye careth for more.

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[71] Ibid., p. 64.

[72] Ibid., p. 55, 56.

> 254. I am better content with a litell goode than
> he that hath goode enough and knouth not how he
> may spende it honestly [properly, discreetly].[73]

Humanist Writings

Besides the grammars and exercise books, humanist educators also used treatises, letters and dialogues. These latter ones were all popular means the ancients used for instruction. The humanists, in imitating the ancients, wrote treatises, letters and dialogues of their own, placing a high value on using their writings as a source of moral instruction.[74] Kristeller notes that:

> When the humanists wrote about moral subjects, either they tried to combine and to harmonize ancient and Christian ideas in the manner of Erasmus, or they discussed moral topics on a purely classical and secular basis--without however indicating any hostility toward Christianity, but rather taking for granted the compatibility between the two, as was done by Alberti and many other Italian humanists.[75]

The humanists were avid writers and they amassed a large body of moral literature.

Some of the most influential writers of treatises were Leonardo Bruni, Erasmus, Vives and Ascham.[76] Kristeller states that, "These treatises were written either for the young students themselves or for the parents of prospective students to convince them of the value of a humanist education."[77] These treatises gave a good deal of attention to "the praise of Greek and Latin literature, whose study formed the core of humanist instruction, and to the value of such an education for the future citizen or statesman."[78] Many of these treatises were dedicated to the education of a good prince or a commentary on appropriate manners of a prince.[79] The reasoning behind focusing on princes was that these young men were to be a model in their moral actions and virtues for others in society.

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[73] Ibid. p. 59.

[74] Kristeller, op. cit., p. 27.

[75] Ibid., p. 40.

[76] Ibid., p. 43.

[77] Ibid.

An example of a treatise is the Institutio Principis Christiani (The Education of a Christian Prince) by Erasmus. The work, published in 1516, "was dedicated to Prince Charles the future Charles V, to whom Erasmus had been appointed councillor some months earlier."[80] Among the sources Erasmus used for Institutio were Plato's Republic and Laws and Aristotle's Politics, as well as, Cicero and Seneca. "He also drew on two classics of princely pedagogy, the Cyropaedia of Xenophon and the Moralia of Plutarch...."[81]

Erasmus discussed a variety of topics including the role of the teacher of a prince, censorship, good influences and the confidence he had in the power of education for creating good individuals. Regarding the teacher, Erasmus emphasises the need to set a good example. He quoted Seneca that the tutor should "be a man who knows how to reprimand without giving way to abuse and how to praise without giving way to flattery; let the prince at once respect him for his disciplined life and like him for his agreeable manner."[82]

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid., p.44.

[80] Erasmus. The Education of a Christian Prince (Institutio principis christiani) Collected Works of Erasmus. A. H. T. Levi (ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986, Volume 27, p. 200.

[81] Ibid. Many of the "examples, quotations, and ideas found in the Institutio are already present in embryo, or even fully developed, in the Adagia." Ibid., p. 201.

In fact, all those who came into regular contact with the prince should be good influences. Nurses were to be "women of blameless character who have been prepared and instructed for the task...."[83] Likewise, the prince's playmates should be "boys of good and respectable character who have been brought up and trained in the ways of courtesy and decency."[84] Conversely, the prince should be shielded from "pleasure-seeking youngsters, drunkards, foul-mouthed people, and especially the flatterers, as long as his moral development is not firmly established."[85]

As valuable as good examples were, the ideas that the prince should study was an even greater influence on him than the example of others. Erasmus wrote, "The examples set by famous men vividly inspire a noble youth's imagination, but the ideas with which it is imbued are of much the greatest importance, for they are the source from which the whole character of his life develops."[86] This is why the careful attention to proper education was so important and why careful selection of pure, wholesome curriculum was repeatedly stressed.

The task of moral education, however, was not yet complete once virtuous examples by those who came into contact with the prince and suitable curriculum are in place. Direct moral instruction was also needed. Erasmus cautioned, "it is not enough just to hand out the sort of maxims which warn him off evil things and summon him to the good. No, they must be fixed in his mind, pressed in, and rammed home."[87] He went on to stress that they can be kept fresh in the memory in a variety of ways: "sometimes in a moral maxim, sometimes in a parable...or a proverb; they must be carved on rings, painted in pictures, inscribed on prizes, and presented in any way that a child his age enjoys, so that they are always before his mind even when doing something else."[88]

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[82] Ibid., p. 208.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid., p. 210

The benefit of fixing in their minds and ramming home these lessons was that it would eventually have a positive effect on the student, even on the most unruly student. Erasmus expresses his supreme confidence in the possibilities of moral training as a means to create a better individual when he wrote, "For, given that there is no wild animal so fierce and savage that it cannot be controlled by the persistent attention of a trainer, why should he think that any human spirit is so hopelessly crude that it will not respond to painstaking education."[89]

The letter was another prominent and very popular means humanists used to disseminate their ideas and instruct students in proper Latin style. According to Kristeller the letter allowed the writers to "express their views in a personal and subjective fashion, although they considered letter-writing a branch of literature, and gave the same polished elegance to their letters as to their other literary compositions."[90] Erasmus wrote a letter "On Good Manners for Boys" and addressed it to Henry of Burgundy, the brother of Maximilian of Burgundy. Although it was addressed to Henry, Erasmus' purpose was to instruct boys in manners that were appropriate for them. This letter was first printed in March 1530 and was an immediate success.[91]

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Kristeller, Renaissance Thought II, op. cit., p. 28.

The training of the young, according to Erasmus, consisted of four components:

> the first and consequently the most important of which consists of implanting the seeds of piety in the tenders heart; the second in instilling a love for, and though knowledge of, the liberal arts; the third in giving instruction in the duties of life; the fourth in training in good manners right from the earliest years.[92]

The letter to Henry focused on the last of these components. It was very comprehensive and read like a volume on etiquette, which was regarded as a very important aspect of moral training. (Humanists continually emphasised the outward practice of virtue. Thus the way one acted was to be a model for others to follow.) The items Erasmus covered in his letter were the body, how to dress, behavior in church, attending banquets, meeting new people, play and conduct in the bedroom.

Regarding the body, Erasmus pointed out that the face was a very important part of the body because it revealed many things about the person. Therefore careful attention should be given to its care. He instructed that, "The eyebrows should be smooth: not contracted; which denotes fierceness; not arched, a sign of arrogance; not pressed down over the eyes, like those of an evil schemer."[93] When focusing on the mouth he noted that it "should be neither tight-set, which denotes someone afraid of inhaling someone else's breath, nor gaping open like an idiot's, but formed with lips lightly touching one another."[94] There was also a direct connection between outward appearance and the character of the person. Erasmus used the eyes as an example. "For a well-ordered mind of a boy to be universally manifested--the eyes should be calm, respectful, and steady...it is not chance saying of the ancient sages that the seat of the soul is the eyes."[95]

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[91] Erasmus. On Good Manners for Boys (De civilitate morum puerilium) Collected Works of Erasmus. J. K. Sowards (ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Volume 25, 1985, p. 273.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid., p. 274.

Erasmus included timely advice on some of the universal dilemmas that confronted all people at some time when in public. He gave the following counsel:

> There are some who lay down the rule that a boy should refrain from breaking wind by constricting his buttocks. But is no part of good manners to bring illness upon yourself while striving to appear 'polite'. If you may withdraw, do so in private. But if not, then in the words of the old adage, let him cover the sound with a cough.[96]

Another literary form used for educational purposes was the dialogue. This was to be written in a way that struck a balance between correct literary style and a natural conversational tone. "The chief purpose of this balance and the consequent tone, as Cicero often says in discussing inventio, is to persuade. For to persuade, one must be easily understood, one's thought must be constantly followed."[97] The objective was to persuade the reader to imitate a certain action or adapt a particular idea. This was most often accomplished when the writer spoke the "language of everyday life."[98] Wilson notes that:

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[94] Ibid., p. 275.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid., p. 277, 278. In another gem of sage advice Erasmus writes; "The nostrils should be free from any filthy collection of mucus, as this is disgusting (the philosopher Socrates was reproached for that failing too). It is boorish to wipe one's nose on one's cap or clothing; to do so on one's sleeve or forearm is for fishmongers, and it is not much better to wipe it with one's hand, if you then smear the discharge on your clothing. The polite way is to catch the matter from the nose in a handerchief, and this should be done by turning away slightly if decent people are present. If, in clearing your nose with two fingers, some matter falls on the ground, it should be immediately ground under foot." Ibid., p. 274, 275.

> The dialogues in which the humanists practised moral instruction seemingly needed no aesthetic justification. If they were mere didactic treatises, they were critically hors de combat. This is why many of them sleep today in footnotes as "sources" of Renaissance poetry. While they shared the literary preoccupation of the age with moral usefulness, humanist dialogue was not strictly poetic.[99]

Erasmus's Colloquies was an example of this genre. The "Colloquies caught on from the first and remained a standard textbook in schools for several centuries."[100] Thompson notes Erasmus' boast in the dedication of the 1524 edition that, "This little book makes better Latinists and better characters' of school boys."[101] The following is a colloquy written by Erasmus.

"A Lesson in Manners"

MASTER. You seem to me to have been born not in a hall but a, so crude are your manners. A respectable boy ought to have decent manners. Whenever one of your betters addressed you, stand up straight and uncover your head. Your face should be neither sad nor gloomy nor saucy nor insolent not changeable but controlled by a pleasant modesty; your gaze respectful, always looking at the person you're speaking to; your feet together; hands still. Don't shift from one foot to the other or gesticulate with your hands or bite your lip or scratch your head or dig out your ears. Also your clothes should be, so that the whole dress, expression, posture, and bearing of the body may indicate a sincere modesty and respectful nature.

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[97] Wilson, K. J. Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1985, p.40, 41.

[98] Ibid., p. 41.

[99] Ibid., p. 63.

[100] Erasmus. The Colloquies of Erasmus. Craig R. Thompson (translator). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. xxviii.

[101] Ibid., p. xxvii. See Appendix A for an example of one of Erasmus' Colloquies.

BOY. Suppose I practice?

MASTER. Do.

BOY. Is this good enough?

MASTER. Not yet.

BOY. What if I do it thus?

MASTER. Almost.

BOY. How's this?

MASTER. Yes, that's good. Keep that posture. Don't chatter foolishly or impetuously. Don't let your mind wander but pay attention to what is said. If an answer is required, give it briefly and carefully, addressing the person from time to time by his proper title. Sometimes add his name as a mark of respect, bowing slightly now and then, especially when you make your response. Don't leave without excusing yourself or unless you're dismissed. Come now, give me a demonstration of this kind of thing. How long have you been away from home?

BOY. Nearly six months.

MASTER. You should have added "sir".

BOY. Nearly six months, sir.

MASTER. Don't you miss your mother?

BOY. Sometimes, yes.

MASTER. Would you like to go see her?

BOY. I would, sir, with your kind permission.

MASTER. Now you should have bowed. Good; continue in that fashion. When you speak, take care not to spill the words out too fast or to stammer or to mutter in your throat, but form the habit of uttering words distinctly, clearly, articulately. If you pass an elderly person, magistrate, priest, doctor, or any other man of dignity, remember to uncover your head and don't hesitate to bow. Do the same when you pass a church or crucifix. At a dinner party be gay, but in such fashion that you remember always what is appropriate to your age. Be the last of all to reach for a dish. If a special dainty is offered, decline modestly; if is urged upon you, accept and say "Thank you"; after taking a small serving, give the rest back to the one who offered it to you or to the person seated next to you. If anyone drinks, give him a health gaily but drink moderately yourself. If you're not thirsty, raise the cup to your lips anyway. Look pleasantly at those who are speaking; say nothing yourself unless asked. If anything risque is said, don't laugh but keep a straight face, as though you don't understand. Don't disparage anybody, or put on airs, or boast about your things, or belittle another's. Be cordial even toward companions who are poorly off. Don't accuse anyone. Don't let your tongue—run away with you. Thus you will find sincere approval and make friends. If you notice that the dinner's dragged out, excuse yourself, say goodbye to the company, and leave the table. See that you bear these things in mind.

BOY. I'll, master. Anything else?

MASTER. Go to your books now.

BOY. Yes, sir.[102]

Conclusion

The curriculum used in the grammar schools played a central role in the teaching of morals. The classics, various types of grammars and the writings of Renaissance humanists all contributed to the curriculum pool. It was the intention of the humanist authors to have their writings used to teach Latin and morals. They also drew on the classics as sources of good Latin style and as examples that could be used to reinforce appropriate more thought and behavior. However, formal instruction during the school day was not the only avenue by which boys were exposed to moral training. The entire atmosphere of the grammar school was designed to promote moral development. Some of the factors that influenced this environment will be the focus of the next chapter.

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[102] Ibid., p. 20, 21.

CHAPTER FOUR

English Grammar Schools II:
An Examination of School Statutes and their Influence on Moral Practice in Schools.

The Political and Religious Context

The moral foundation of grammar school education was not limited to academic curriculum as discussed in the previous chapter. The entire environment surrounding the grammar schools was impregnated with moral regulations. The purpose of this chapter is to examine some of the ordinances that were established to secure a moral foundation for the schools. These ordinances touched on all aspects of the school. The major areas that will be considered will be the statutes that pertain to teachers, religious education and observances and student life.[1] First, however, a brief overview of some of the major political and religious developments is needed in order to provide a context for some of the grammar school statutes that will be addressed.

The English Reformation (1538) came at approximately the mid-point of the Renaissance in England. Both Watson and Pinchbeck designate the period between the establishment of St. Paul's grammar school in London in 1509 and the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne in 1558 as the years when education in English grammar schools was most affected by the humanist ideals of the Renaissance.[2] It is important to keep in mind that these dates are not rigid, but serve only as a guideline. Orme traces the inception of humanistic philosophy in English schools back to the late fifteenth century, almost three decades before the founding of St. Paul's. He credits John Anwykll of Magdalen College, Oxford (c. 1481-1488) as possibly the first humanist schoolmaster in England.[3] It is also reasonable to conclude that humanism did not end abruptly when Elizabeth came to power. However, a shift to Puritan influences in education was taking place. The significance of the English Reformation, for the purpose of this paper, is to note that it did prompt some changes in grammar schools. This chapter will concentrate only on those changes that have a direct relationship with moral education.

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[1] Religious education centres on non-academic religious curriculum which includes the teaching of the Bible and catechisms.

[2] Watson, Foster. The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968, p.534 and Pinchbeck, Ivy & Hewitt, Margaret. Children in English Society Volume [illegible]: From Tudor Times to the Eighteenth Century. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, p. 276.

Maybe the most significant change in education, as a result of the English Reformation was the Crown's intervention in education.[4] Prior to this time the Church controlled education. The Crown began to flex its muscle in the summer of 1536 with the destruction of the religious orders and the confiscation of their property. This began with the closure of the smaller monasteries in the summer of 1536 and ended with the surrender of Waltham, the last of the abbeys, on 23 March 1540.[5] The dissolution virtually eliminated any Roman Catholic control of education in England and allowed the state to use the schools to disseminate Anglican doctrine.

The belief in the importance of the need to control schools in order to insure conformity to prescribed religious doctrine was already well established. Early in the fifteenth century Wycliffe and the Lollards prompted the leaders of the English Church to control the religious activities of the schools.[6]

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[3] Orme, Nicholes. English Schools in the Middle Ages. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1973, p. 156.

[4] Ibid., p. 258.

[5] Ibid.

In the 1520s the threat of Lutheranism led the Catholic English Church to organize a convocation of the Canterbury province on 22 March 1530 to discuss reforms in education. The council recommended that the regular clergy should get involved in teaching grammar. Therefore the secular clergy, when not engaged in religious duties were to instruct boys. Furthermore, schoolmasters should teach boys "a simple summary of the faith and of what to do and avoid, but to refrain from giving them books to read which might corrupt their minds or their faith."[7]

Henry VIII also recognized the importance of controlling education; therefore when Henry broke with Rome he subjected churches and schools to two new policies: royal control and uniformity[8] in such matters as curriculum and teacher certification. Some of the controls on education included the introduction of approved curriculum; a uniform Latin grammar (1540), an elementary grammar (1542) and a primer (1545).[9] It appears that the central concern in enforcing these controls was to prevent Roman Catholic teachings from creeping into the schools and also to promote the doctrines of the newly founded Anglican Church.

The educational reforms of Henry VIII seems to have had no profound effect on grammar schools and their teaching of morals. However, in terms of administrative structure, one noticeable change was that the grammar schools made a complete shift from church control to lay control under the power of the Crown. This was not an abrupt shift since, even before the break with Rome, there was already a trend emerging of laymen establishing grammar schools.[10] This change was consistent with the educational trend during the Renaissance where the primary purpose of formal secondary education shifted from preparing boys for service in the Church to the education of the middle class.[11]

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[6] Ibid., p. 253.

[7] Ibid., p. 254.

[8] Orme, Nicholas. Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England. London: The Hambledon Press, 1989, p. 18.

[9] Ibid., p. 19.

The issue that directly affects this paper is the changes in religious teaching. Here the changes were minor. During the early years of the English Reformation the grammar schools still focused on the classical curriculum[12] and maintained Erasmus' idea that "Christian piety, scholarship, the conduct of life and preparation for civic responsibility were all indivisible parts of a complete education."[13] Undergirding this was a distinctly religious tone in all aspects of the English grammar school.[14]

This religious tone was not unique to grammar schools but was a common characteristic of society as a whole. Moral training associated with religious practice played a large part in the everyday lives of English households.[15] At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign,

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[10] Charlton, Kenneth. *Education in Renaissance England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, p. 92.

[11] McMahon, C. P. *Education in Fifteenth-Century England*. New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968, p. 122.

[12] Watson, op. cit., p. 53.

[13] Castle, E. B. *Moral Education in Christian Times*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958, p. 57, 58.

[14] Watson, op. cit., p. 534.

[15] Pinchbeck & Hewitt, op. cit., p. 260.

> it was compulsory for everyone to attend his parish church on Sundays and Holy days on pain of fine of twelve pence for every abstention. Legislation was also passed requiring all heads of families to instruct their children in the catechism and the principles of religion. The enforcement of this duty was the concern of the diocesan visitations, when the Bishop specifically enquired 'whether all fathers, mothers, masters and dames of your parish cause their children, servants and apprentices, both mankind and womankind, being above six years of age and under twenty, which have not learned the catechism; to come to church on Sundays and Holy days at the times appointed...and then diligently and obediently to hear and be ordered by the minister until such time as they have learned the same Catechism'.[16]

The English Reformation prompted a rise in the popularity of the Bible as an integral part of people's lives. In 1539, Thomas Cromwell, the vice-regent of Henry VIII, enacted an injunction which recognized the English Bible. This injunction also "required a large copy of the Bible to be placed in every Church and exhorted every person to read it."[17] This emphasis on the Bible was an added feature to grammar schools in the English Reformation.[18] The Bible became a textbook to be studied for its own sake in grammar schools. Prior to this an emphasis was placed on moral lessons that could be gleaned from the classics which were consistent with the Bible. Another use of the Bible was for the primary purpose of language study. However, even with these minor changes the humanist educational philosophy still dominated the grammar schools till about 1559. After this the beginnings of the Puritan influence, which was an greater emphasis on using the Bible as a text, was being felt.

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Watson, op. cit., p. 52.

[18] Thompsett, F. H. "Godly Instruction in Reformation England: The Challenge of Religious Education in the Tudor Commonwealth" in A Faithful Church: Issues in the History of Catechesis. John H. Westerhoff III & O. C. Edwards, Jr. (eds). Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse-Barlow Co., Inc., 1981, p. 178.

Throughout this chapter a number of grammar schools will be discussed. Of these St. Paul's in London can be singled out as a model for the Renaissance grammar schools in England. According to Thompson, John Colet and St. Paul's "provide the best picture we have of ideals and practices of early Tudor grammar-school education as planned by a Christian thinker...."[19] Colet and Erasmus, both Christian humanists, were influential figures in defining humanism in England.[20]

Colet relied strongly on Erasmus for the pedagogical theory and curriculum to be used at St. Paul's.[21] The influence and popularity of Colet and Erasmus may explain, in part, why so many grammar schools imitated St. Paul's. Both Lupton and McDonnell note that Colet's statutes for St. Paul's were "largely copied or incorporated in those of later schools."[22] Furthermore, McDonnell asserts that "numerous schools, notably those of Manchester and of Merchant Taylors, contain among their statutes what are obviously verbatim extracts from the statutes of St.

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[19] Thompson, Graig R. Schools in Tudor England. Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1958, p. 11.

[20] Thomas More and Thomas Elyot were important figures as well. See chapter two for more information.

[21] Chatterjee, Kalyan K. In Praise of Learning: John Colet and Literary Humanism in Education. New Delhi: Affiliated East-West Press Pvt. Ltd., 1974, p. 68.

[22] Lupton, J. H. A Life of John Colet, D.D.. Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, Inc. 1961 (reprint), p. 172.

Paul's."[23] Therefore, due to the prominent place St. Paul's occupied in English Renaissance grammar schools a brief overview of the school will be given to serve as a prototype of a humanist educational institution.

St. Paul's School in London was established through a private foundation in 1512.[24] There has been some controversy over whether Colet founded a new school at St. Paul's or whether it was a re-founding of the existing grammar school. According to Gardner, "it is a controversy which has become set in semantics. There seems little doubt that Colet's School was completely new, but that it soon replaced the existing school."[25]

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[23] McDonnell, Michael. A History of St. Paul's School. London: Chapman & Hall, 1909, 0. 33.

[24] See Lupton, op. cit., p.272 a copy of the statutes of St. Paul's. St. Paul's was established in 1509. The date of 1512 is probably when Colet turned the school over to the Mercers'' Company.

[25] Gardner, Brian. The Public Schools: An Historical Survey. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973, p. 43. Both McDonnell and Lupton provide valuable research that indicates that Colet's school was a new school. McDonnell found in the archives of the Mercers' Company a "book containing copies of documents relating to the foundation by Colet of what is referred to as 'the new school of Pauls'." McDonnell, Michael. The Annals of St. Paul's School. Privately printed for the Governors, Cambridge: University Press, 1959, p. 32. The reason the Mercers' Company had documents referring to the school was that Colet turned over the control of the school to them. This is noted in the minutes of the Mercers' Company on April 9 and 12, 1510. The first meeting of the board records that Colet requested that the Mercers' Company administrate the school. Three days later the record shows that a meeting had taken place with Colet and representatives from the Mercers'. As a result of the meeting with the representatives they reported that they "had seen the Dean and ascertained his views as to 'the foundation of his scole in poules Church Yerde, whereof he purposith to make oure Company conservatours and Rulers'." Ibid., p. 33. See also Lupton, op. cit., p. 167.

It appears that Colet wanted Erasmus to be the headmaster but this did not materialize. In his place, Colet chose William Lily who was credited with writing the famous Latin Grammar that was widely used and eventually ordained as the authorized grammar. Lily represented the ideal humanist teacher. He was characterised as having "precisely that blend of piety and scholarly aspiration which was the common muse of the Erasmian group."[26] Lily fitted Colet's qualification which he stated as, "A man hoole in body honest and vertuouse and lernyd in the good and clene laten litterature and also in greke...."[27] Lily made thirty-five pounds per year, had a country house, provision for sick leaves, and a pension.[28]

If there was anything unusual about St. Paul's it was that the original purpose of the school was to educate 153 poor boys.[29] Eeven though the humanistic movement supported the education of the "poor scholar" and established schools and scholarships for them, the English humanists (Erasmus, More, and Elyot) "were mostly concerned with the education of the aristocracy rather than with that of men of low social order."[30]

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[26] McConia, James K. English Humanists and Reformation Politics: Under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 49.

[27] Lupton, op. cit., p. 272.

[28] See Cole, Luella. A History of Education, Socrates to Montessori. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1950, p.278.

[29] The number 153 is said to be based on the 153 fish that were miraculously caught by Jesus' disciples in John 21:12. Today there is no maximum enrolment. However, there are still 153 holders of scholarships. Cole. op. cit., p. 278. Both Winchester (1382) and Eton (1440) were established to educate the poor scholar.

[30] Caspari, F. Humanism and Social Order in Tudor England. Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1968,

St. Paul's was a large school. Winchester and Eton, two prominent grammar schools had less then half the enrolment of St. Paul's.[31] St. Paul's was primarily a day school with only approximately ten percent of the boys boarding at the school.[32]

Teachers

Within the humanistic tradition in education, teachers played an important role in the lives of students. They were attributed with having a profound influence over the students in their charge. Erasmus, in what appears to be a rebuke to a teacher, points out the influence a teacher has and the potential contribution he could make to society. Erasmus wrote:

> I admit that your vocation is laborious, but I utterly deny that it is tragic or deplorable, as you call it. To be a schoolmaster is next to being a king. Do you count it a mean employment to imbue the minds of your fellow citizens in their earliest years with the best literature and with the love of Christ and to return them to their country honest and vertuous men? In the opinion of fools it is a humble task, but in fact it is the noblest of occupations. Even among the heathen it was always a noble thing to deserve well of the state, and no one serves it better than the moulder of raw boys.[33]

Thomas Elyot was also keenly aware of the puissance of the teacher. He wrote in a popular humanistic work of the day, The Boke Named the Governour (1531), that one should give

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p. 18.

[31] Lupton, op. cit., pp. 164-166.

[32] Wilson, J. Dover (ed). The Schools of England: A Study in Renaissance. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd., 1928, p. 98.

[33] Smith, Preserved. Erasmus: A Study of His Life, Ideals, and Place in History. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1923, p. 303.

careful consideration when choosing a schoolmaster. Those making the selection should be sure to choose a man who "is of sober and virtuous disposition, specially chaste of living and of much affability and patience, lest by any unclean example the tender mind of the child may be infected, hard afterward to be recovered."[34]

Because the teacher played a critical role in ensuring that moral values were being transmitted to the students both by example and in formal teaching many grammar schools outlined specific moral qualifications teachers must meet in order to be given a teaching position. The seriousness with which founders of grammar schools took their responsibility in this regard will be seen as the statutes of several grammar schools are investigated.

Each grammar school had its own policy for the appointment of a headmaster and other staff if needed. The documents which governed the school would usually designate a person or group as having authority to appoint a headmaster. These authorities varied from "the founder of the school during his life and to his heirs...after his death, to the governors of the school, to colleges, to clergy, or to royal or civil authorities."[35]

Schools often outlined certain qualifications they were looking for in a headmaster. Minimum age, moral qualifications, marital status, religious requirements and scholastic qualifications are representative of types of qualifications sought by various schools. In general, primary importance was placed on the scholastic, religious, and moral requirements. Some of the founders were very specific in outlining the moral and religious standards they were seeking in a master.

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[34] Cressy, David. Education in Tudor and Stuart England. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975, p. 60. As mentioned in chapter three academic qualifications were an important consideration as well. Elyot describes the ideal teacher in the following passage. He writes, "The man of high character and wide learning, skilled in speaking, was the 'orator', write skilled in teaching, and we have the school-master as the humanist conceived him." Woodward, W. H. Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1967, p. 290.

[35] Stowe, op. cit., p. 62.

Colet was one of those founders who set out clear guidelines for the positions of headmaster, surmaster and chaplain. The headmaster was to be in charge of the school and chosen by the Mercers' Company.[36] He was to be an honest and virtuous man who knew both Latin and Greek.[37] Because Colet took seriously the teacher's role in the life of the students he specified that each year the headmaster was to be examined by the Mercers and if found deficient in either morals or teaching he would be dismissed.[38] The surmaster's qualifications were similar, though not as stringent as the headmaster's.

In addition, Colet stipulated that, "There shall be also in the Scole a priest that dayly as he can be disposid shall sing masse in the chapell of the Scole and pray for the Children to prosper in good lyff and in good litterature to the honor of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu."[39] This man was to be of high moral character and willing to devote his full attention to his duties at St. Paul's. "He shall haue no benefice with cure nor seruice nor no other office nor occupation but attend allonly vpon the scole...."[40] The chaplain was also to be available to teach should the headmaster or surmaster be ill.

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[36] Lupton, op. cit., p. 272. Lupton reprints the statutes of St. Paul's in this book.

[37] Ibid.

[38] See Lupton, op. cit., p. 272.

[39] Ibid., p. 276.

[40] Ibid.

A survey of various grammar schools clearly reinforces the importance of the teachers' moral qualifications.[41] In many of the grammar schools high moral character and academic preparedness were inseparable. This dualism was reflected in the statutes at Rivington, Thame, Kirby Stephen and Merchant Taylors where the headmaster was required to be "a learned and honest man"; "an honest and discreet person, sufficiently enabled with learning"; or "some sober, discreet man, verteous in lyving, and well learned".[42]

At Manchester (1528) the requirements were even more specific. Here the headmaster was to be a "single man, priest or no priest, so that he be no Religious man, [does not belong to a Religious Order of Monks] being honest of his living and whole of body...and having sufficient Literature and Learning to be a school master and able to teach children grammar."[43] A qualification at Woodstock added an additional responsibility to the teacher in that he must be "a good preacher of the word of God."[44] In general standards such as: "of good report", "well reported of", "sober, discreet and undefamed", "an honest and mete man", and "honest and virtuous"[45] were placed as high priorities in the job description.

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[41] Some of the grammar schools that will be included in this survey were founded after the English Reformation. However, these schools are still valid examples because they were still experiencing the influence of humanism. One example of this was the schools' desire to maintain high moral standards among the teachers.

[42] Stowe, op. cit., p. 56.

[43] Watson, op. cit., p. 126.

[44] Stowe, op. cit., p. 58.

[45] Ibid.

As the influence of the Crown was exerted on the schools there was a slight change in emphasis on the moral qualifications of teachers. An injunction was handed down in 1559 by the Crown which gave them a tighter grip on teachers. The Injunction required that before the master could be admitted into office as a teacher in a grammar school he was to be examined and given permission to teach by the Bishop of the Diocese.[46] It appears that this regulation did not detract from the desire for the school masters to be discreet, religious men who could set good moral examples. It did, however, establish doctrinal boundaries to which the teacher needed to adhere. The Crown wanted to insure that the teachers "professed the true religion".[47] The adaptation of this policy was evident at Oundle where the schoolmaster needed to have a "right understanding of good and true religion set forth by public authority."[48]

An earlier Injunction, probably in 1540, which made compulsory the King's grammar also contained the following articles:

> That all teachers of children shall stir and move them to live and do reverence to god's true religion now truely set forth by public authority. That they shall accustom their scholars reverently to learn such sentences or scriptures as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness. Every parson, vicar, and curate shall upon every holyday and every second Sunday in the year hear and instruct the youth of the parish for half and hour at the least before evening prayer in the ten commandments, the Articles of the Belief, and the Lords Prayer, and diligently examine them and

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[46] Ibid., p. 67.

[47] Ibid., p. 147.

[48] Ibid., p. 58.

> teach the Catechism set forth in the book of public prayer.[49]

These requirements, instituted as a result of the English Reformation, do not seem to differ significantly in their general tone from those prior to the Reformation. In the pre-Reformation school at Childrey there was a concern for correct doctrinal teaching just as during the Reformation. The only difference is that the doctrine was modified from Roman Catholic to Anglican. The pre-Reformation schoolmaster was to review, with the boys the "Lord's Prayer, Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles' Creed (and all other things necessary to enable them to assist the priest in the celebration of mass), the Psalm De profundis, and the usual prayer for the dead."[50]

Not only were the teachers to be orthodox in their religious beliefs, they were also required to be above reproach in their actions. Thus at Kirby Stephen the teacher was not to be given to "unlawful pastimes of drunkenness, or else be noted openly to have an evil name or other detestable vice or deed which shall require or need ecclesiastical restraint or correction."[51] Other vices that were forbidden included: keeping of hounds, stirring up contention, a whore hunter, lewd in living, a common gamester, haunter of taverns, "to exceed in apparel nor in other ways to be an infamy to the school or give evil example to the scholars."[52] A schoolmaster who did not live up to the standards set by the school could be dismissed, often without prior notice.

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[49] Ibid., p. 147,148.

[50] Watson, op. cit., p. 31.

[51] Stowe, op. cit., p. 80,81.

[52] Ibid., p. 81.

Even the high standards required of teachers did not eliminate the presence of undesirable teachers. In fact it appears that there were many harsh and ineffective teachers. Two significant factors which contributed to this situation were an incongruity between the exceedingly high expectations of the teacher and the poor pay and difficult working conditions, such as very large classes.

Stowe collected data on headmasters salaries from seventy-nine grammar schools from 1558-1603. Although definite conclusions cannot be drawn from this data it nevertheless can give a general indication of teachers' salaries.[53] The salaries ranged from a low of three pounds to a high of fifty pounds per year. The higher salary range was rare because "80% of the masters under consideration received stipends varying from ten to twenty pounds"[54] with the average being a little over sixteen and one half pounds.[55] Based on this information it appears that the remuneration was not adequate enough to attract the best teachers. Those who could meet the stringent requirements set by many of the grammar schools could probably get jobs which paid more and had fewer demands than teaching.

Charlton notes that as a result of the master and usher sharing the whole load of the school and the large classes inevitably discipline was fierce.[56] A factor which probably contributed to this unpleasant situation was the general lack of creativity or imagination in the pedagogy. Stowe believed "the majority of masters were left to follow their own ideas, or the methods in common use in the schools at that time."[57] Woodward sums up the situation by stating, "That masters were harsh, often failed to teach anything, or being ignorant and indifferent themselves, failed to stimulate, was Elyot's standing complaint as it was that of Erasmus."[58]

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[53] See Stowe, op. cit., pp. 84-98 for many examples of specific salaries.

[54] Ibid., p. 87.

[55] Charlton also notes that teachers' pay was "miserably small". He states that, "At the beginning of the century the master's salary would be in the region of L10 per annum and the usher's L5. By the middle of the century this had generally risen to L15 and L10 respectively, and at the end of the century a master would be lucky to get L20, with the usher receiving L10, increases which could hardly be said to be sufficient to keep pace with the inflation of the period, during which prices had increased about six-fold." Charlton, op. cit., p.124, 125.

Religious Education and Observances

Religious observances were well regulated at the grammar schools. The school statutes left little to chance when it came to creating an environment in which boys would be saturated with religious observances and instruction. A solid religious foundation in the schools was a long established tradition. Watson notes that the religious climate in the schools was fairly stable from the medieval period through the Reformation in England.[59] Some of the common themes of the school statutes during the sixteenth century which reinforced religious stability included prayers and other religious observance in grammar schools; religious instruction in the Catechism and essentials of the Christian faith; and attendance at church on Sundays and Holy days.[60]

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[56] Charlton, op. cit., p. 124.

[57] Stowe, op. cit., p. 117.

[58] Woodward, op. cit., p. 290.

[59] Watson, Foster. The Old Grammar Schools. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968, p. 68ff.

[60] Ibid., p. 86.

Generally, grammar schools were for boys between the ages of six and eighteen years old. They came from a variety of social and economic backgrounds. Since, "The sons of the nobility , were now, for the most part, taught by private tutors in their own homes,"[61] the grammar schools were increasingly being populated by "the sons of the squirearchy, of lawyers, and merchants...together with the traditional group of 'poor and needy scholars'."[62]

Students entering the grammar schools had to meet the entrance requirements for the particular school they sought to attend. These requirements varied, "yet where such requirements existed they generally included ability to read and write."[63] The statutes at Canterbury Grammar School (1541) were very precise. They specified that, "No one shall be admitted into the school who cannot read readily, or does not know by heart in the vernacular the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, the Apostle's Creed and the Ten Commandments."[64] Another example is, "in Norwich they were to be able to say their catechism, read 'perfectly both English and Latin, and write competently'."[65] In some schools (St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors') the successful completion of a catechetical examination was required before admission to the grammar school was permitted. It appears that the catechism referred to for admission by St. Paul's included the Articles of Faith and the Apostles' Creed.[66]

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[61] Charlton, op. cit., p. 97.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Stowe, op. cit., p. 104.

[64] Charlton, op. cit., p. 98. The Angelic Salutation is "the words addressed to the Virgin Mary by the angel Gabriel (Luke i:28)." The Oxford English Dictionary, Volume I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Second edition 1989, p. 459.

[65] Stowe, op. cit., p. 104.

Both tradition and statutes dictated that the school day should begin with religious exercises such as prayer and/or singing, the reciting of a Scripture passage, or the reading of a Collect. In the Articles at Manchester School (1524) the master and usher were given specific directions that the first teacher to come into the school shall lead the students in reciting a Psalm and a collect.[67] At Skipton (1548) the founders took the opening exercises very seriously. They stated, "The Chaplain or Master immediately after entering the school shall say the Psalm, Miserere mei Deus which he shall not omit under penalty of 20d. for each day--and if he shall wilfully omit daily for a Month, he shall be removed."[68]

Stowe records several examples of devotional prayers used in schools and recited by the pupils. The following is a morning prayer used at East Retford (1552).

> O Most merciful God and giver of all understanding which, at the invocation of the faithful, hast ever given things necessary for the setting forth of thy Glory, as the examples of all ages recordeth, and for because nothing is more needful than Wisdom and Understanding we therefore congregate in this place to learn the same, most humbly beseech thee, O Eternal Father, so to illuminate our Wits and Understandings, that we may have our whole affection upon Wisdom in these years of our infancy. And furthermore may ever receive, love, and embrace, the same, and accordingly to the precepts thereof may direct our

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[66] McDonnell, A History of St.Paul's School, op. cit., p. 50,51.

[67] Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, op. cit., p. 40.

[68] Ibid., p. 41. This statute seems to hint that a possible problem existed, that of neglecting religious exercises, otherwise why would such a penalty need to be included.

> acts, and last of all that the true Wisdom of God may so shine in all our living, as may be to the Glory and Praise of him from whom all Wisdom cometh. Grant thiswe beseech thee, O God, for the love of thy most dearly beloved son Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Saviour. So be it.[69]

The exercises were usually repeated in the evening before dismissing classes for the day. One of the teachers at Manchester was required, after the recitation of a Psalm and Collect to sing the "Anthem of our Blessed Lady, and say De profundis for the soul of the late Bishop of Exeter, Hugh Oldham, his Father and Mother (and for certain other persons named)."[70]

As already noted, the Bible was not a primary text for direct religious instruction prior to the English Reformation in the grammar schools. Watson cites that, "The Bible, however, was not definitely and officially fixed as a school Subject till the Canons of 1604. By Article 79 of the Cannons Ecclesiastical of 1604 the duties of schoolmasters with regard to religious training in scripture were laid down...."[71]

It appears that the first injunction in grammar school statutes directly commanding the use of the Bible was at Winchester College (1547). The injunction states: "From henceforth the Bible shall be daily read in English, distinctly and apertly, in the midst of the Hall, above the hearth where the Fire is made both Dinner and Supper."[72] What this seems to indicate is that, with the Reformation, the popularity of the Bible rose and became an explicit part of grammar school life. Prior to this it was certainly an implicit part, especially when one considers how much Erasmus used the Scriptures as an integral part of his educational works.[73]

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[69] Stowe, op. cit., p. 191.

[70] Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, op. cit., p. 41. After the English Reformation the prayers for the dead most likely stopped. At Witton (1558) the boys prayed three times a day.

[71] Ibid., p. 57.

[72] Ibid., p. 53.

Even though there was a shift in England from Catholicism to Protestantism, religious instruction "became as much a part of the curriculum after the Reformation as it was before, and the great fires of persecution under Bloody Mary only intensified the strenuousness of the insistence on religious, not to say theological instruction...."[74] One change in religious instruction as a result of the English Reformation seems to be that the instruction became more formalized in the schools, mostly due to the royal injunctions.[75]

The religious exercises in the schools usually focused on the teaching of catechism and general instruction in morals.[76] It was Colet's purpose at St. Paul's for the boys to "increase knowledge and worshipping of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff and maners in the Children lerne ffirst aboue all the Cathechyzon in Englysh...."[77] In the statutes at Kirby Stephen (1566) the master was to instruct his students,

> in good manners, well and comely, and from all maner of theft, lying swearing and filthy talking he shall restrain; and also to his scholars he shall interpret and read those authors which may

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[73] See chapter three for a discussion of the influence of the Bible in Erasmus' writings.

[74] Watson, op. cit., p. 25.

[75] Ibid., p. 29.

[76] Brown, op. cit., p. 61.

[77] Statutes of St. Paul's see Lupton, op. cit., p. 279.

> induce them and lead them to virtue, goodliness and honest behaviour and the knowledge of humanity, but not to wantoness or sauciness.[78]

The catechism, if not taught during the school week was taught on Sundays and usually Holy days as well. Specific injunctions to this effect were made by Edward and Elizabeth. The boys were hard pressed to escape this instruction because both teachers and parents were compelled to make sure the boys attended church. "Presence of the boys of grammar schools with their master was required on Sundays and holy-days at Church, and searching examination of the knowledge acquired from the sermon was to be made by the schoolmaster on the Monday in school."[79]

An injunction of Edward VI exhorted all parents and heads of households to teach their children and servants the fundamentals of the faith.[80] Parents were also compelled to send their children to the church where, "The curate was to set time aside on Sundays and holy days, usually before Evening Prayer, to instruct and examine members of the parish."[81] If the parents were delinquent in their duties, penalties were imposed. This was to be policed by the clergy who were "required to keep a list of those between seven and twenty years of age who had yet to learn their catechism."[82]

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[78] Charlton, op. cit., p. 95.

[79] Watson, Old Grammar Schools, op. cit., p. 91. At East Retford (1552), "The Master of Usher shall cause one of their Scholars every Sunday to read the Catechism in English openly and distinctly in the body of the said Parish Church of E. Retford between the Morning Prayer and the Communion as well for their own instruction as for the instruction of other young Children in the said Parish." Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, op. cit., p. 79.

[80] Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, op. cit., p. 29.

[81] Thompsett, op. cit., p. 192.

The Effect of Moral Teaching on Students

The boys' lives were also regulated through statutes, which covered nearly all aspects of student life. The boys were constrained to observe religious exercises such as morning and afternoon prayers, Bible reading and recitations of ecclesiastical creeds. Furthermore church attendance on Sundays and Holy days was mandatory. Sometimes the boys were even forced to take notes on the sermons. This was often motivated by a threat; "Even during the sermon a boy could not be left alone, to play quiet games, or lest a new knife, or indulge in secret slumber..."[83] because the next morning the boys would be quizzed. They would have to cite the chapter and verse used in the sermon and "reproduce the substance of the preacher's discourse, and woe to him if his attention or memory failed him."[84]

Free time during the school day was also subject to rules and regulations. Colet explicitly writes, "I will they vse no kokfighting nor rydyng aboute of victory nor disputing at Bartilmews whiche is but folish babeling and losse of tyme."[85] Cock fighting and cock throwing were popular pastimes during the reign of Henry VII.[86] Thomas More, in his childhood devised a game which involved swinging a stick at the head of a cock who was buried in dirt up to his neck. There was a bit of controversy over the prohibition of this recreational pastime because in some grammar schools cock fighting was a source of extra income for the master or school.[87] Some of the more serious schoolboy crimes, based on frequency of occurrence in the statutes, were swearing, reading of "lewd or licentious books or songs", and fighting.[88] Other prohibitions included lying, stealing and participating in unlawful games such as gambling.[89]

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[82] Ibid., p. 192,193.

[83] Ibid., p. 66.

[84] Brown, op. cit., p. 66.

[85] Lupton, op. cit., p. 278.

[86] Ibid., p. 174.

The boys, in some cases, were not free from the regulations of the school even when away from the school during vacation periods. The statutes at Giggleswick (1553) state that:

> What scholar or scholars soever shall commit any misdemeanor, or behave themselves unreverently at home or abroad, either towards their parents, friends, strangers or others whosoever, or who shall complain of correction moderately given him by the master or usher, shall be severely corrected for the same, upon due knowledge first given of the same to the master or usher.[90]

Given all these regulations one would assume there would be an angelic glow emitting from these grammar school boys. This, however, does not appear to be the case. Even with all the restrictions and the saturation of moral education, both formally and informally, there was little obvious impact on the boys during their childhood and it appears that the majority did not live up to the ideals of Christian humanistic education.

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[87] Ibid. Lupton states that, "The 'cock-pennies,' or fees brought to the master of a school at Shrove-tide, to purchase his consent to the sport, and to provide the requisite materials for it, formed an item in his emoluments of sufficient importance to be a subject of special provision in the statutes of various schools. Thus at Hartlebury School in Worcestershire, by the ordinances made in 1564, it was provided that the scholmaster 'shall and may have, use and take, the profits of all such cock-fights and potations as are commonly used in schools'." Ibid.

[88] Brown, op. cit., p. 120, 121.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Stowe, op. cit., p. 133.

Juan Vives gives valuable insight into school boy life in the sixteenth century. Vives (1492-1540) was a disciple of Erasmus and a noted humanist of the sixteenth century. His dialogues on schoolboy life are believed to be a "true picture of boys' manners, habits, and life in the Tudor period.[91] Vives' intention was to use the dialogues as a means for teaching Latin. However, they have become historical documents giving insight into grammar school life. Vives ' dialogues are especially valuable because "he was constantly in touch with the real interest of boys."[92]

Two of Vives' dialogues centre on morning routines. In both instances there was bickering or fighting while getting dressed which suddenly subsided only long enough to get through morning prayers.[93] There was a noticeable lack of any hint of true piety. Another example of this type of behavior was evident in a dialogue called "The Banquet". Here the guests, including the boys, stuffed themselves with food and in the course of the evening got drunk on wine and beer. They then sanctified the whole affair by ending the evening with prayers.[94] Other common practices of boys included stealing fruit and mixing together belief in the gods with God.[95]

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[91] Vives, Juan L. Tudor School-boy Life. Foster Watson (Translator). London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1970, p. xxxii.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid, p. 5ff, 86ff.

[94] Ibid., p. 140ff.

[95] Ibid., p. 140ff.

There were behavioral problems in the schools as well which indicate there was a discrepancy between the ideal and reality. However, the blame for this should not rest entirely on the boys shoulders. The boys spent a long time in school in terms of the school year as well as the school day. "The school year contained from 40 to 44 weeks, of six days per week."[96] Normally, the length of the school day varied from winter to summer due to the number of hours of light. Natural light was an important means for lighting the school room. In winter a student was in school for seven to eight hours a day while nine to ten hours were common for the summer. In addition to the long hours in school, the curriculum was also difficult and there was an inadequate supply of books which, necessitated the lecture method for instruction. All these factors created a synergetic effect which often manifested itself in behavior problems.

The following is one of many references which could be used to illustrate this unfortunate situation.

> Since the content of the curriculum was not such as to arouse in pupils a spontaneous interest, recourse had to be made to various external motives. While prizes were offered, and other appeals were made to the sense of pride and ambition in the pupils, the strongest was furnished by fear. Supreme confidence appears to have been placed in the rod or bundle of switches. Not infrequently the schoolmaster was a severe taskmaster, who relied upon his rod to inspire his pupils to be regular and punctual in attendance, to memorize and recite their lessons, and to speak Latin in and near the school.[97]

Given the conditions the boys were exposed to in school it is not surprising that maintaining order in the schoolroom was not easy. The expectations of the founders for peace and order were much different from the reality. Because the curriculum was uninteresting and monotonous the schoolmasters:

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[96] Stowe, op. cit., p. 135.

[97] Ibid., p. 140.

> were faced with the daily problem of keeping their hordes of young ruffians in order and at work, sometimes for as much as ten hours a day. The state to which such a crowd of youngsters would soon be reduced can perhaps be imagined...only a man of exceptional strength of character could hope to succeed.[98]

One consequence of the above conditions, according to Stowe, was, "not a few came to dislike both school and learning."[99]

Beside the boredom and fatigue, a fear of the schoolmaster also contributed to this dislike for schools on the part of the students. Erasmus in his Colloquy and Vives in his dialogues both acknowledge that flogging was a common practice in the schools, even though it was "regretted or discouraged by humanistic educators."[100] Vives, in a dialogue between three boys, discussed a problem they were having in memorizing some assigned verses. As the boys were lamenting over their inability to fully understand the verses one of the boys noticed that their master was approaching. He suggests, "We will question the schoolmaster Orbilius about them, for here he is coming to meet us."[101] Another boy replies, "He is by no means the man to meet the difficulty. Let us just salute him and let him go his way, for he is a fierce man fond of flogging, imbued with a vast haughtiness, instead of being learned in literature, although he has seriously persuaded himself that he is the Alpha of learned teachers."[102]

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[98] Brown, op. cit., p. 117.

[99] Stowe, op. cit., p. 143.

[100] The Colloquies of Erasmus. Graig R. Thompson (Translator). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. 43.

[101] Vives, op. cit., p. 91.

Even this fear of the master and the strict regulation of behavior such as lying, stealing, games one was permitted to play and how a student should address the master did not seem to be effective. Brown concludes that, "It may be doubted if such directions were ever very effective in attaining their object."[103] Likewise it, "Appears that the religious exercises turned into perfunctory religious rituals without the intended religious benefit to the student."[104] This certainly was not the intention of the founders of grammar schools or of the Christian humanists.

Conclusion

Founders of grammar schools did not want to leave any aspect of moral training to chance. Thus they formulated school statutes which regulated everything from the curriculum to the personal lives of teachers and students. It appears, however, that these regulatory efforts were unable to achieve their intended purpose completely. Neither all the teachers nor all the students lived up to the lofty standards set by the founders. Nor is this surprising since morality cannot be legislated. However, the evidence suggests that the schoolboys on the whole were unruly rather than impious. Moveover, one can never be certain what will be the ultimate effect of the moral training given in the schools of any age. Certainly many of the sixteenth century grammar school students grew up to be God-fearing men, and therefore, perhaps the founders and teachers could feel justifiably content with their endeavours.

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[102] Ibid.

[103] Brown, op. cit., p. 114.

[104] Ibid., p. 61.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the development, theory and practical application of moral education in English grammar schools during the English Renaissance. As a result of this survey there are a number of inferences that can help to better understand the interrelationship that exists between society as a whole and the classroom. Furthermore, the conclusions reached from this investigation could possibly be applied to the study of moral education in other historical periods.

This study reinforces the conception that educational change is often associated with political, economic and religious developments that are taking place. In northern Italy the medieval feudal system was giving way to the rise of city-states. In addition, a money-based economy was emerging due to the rise of commerce and industry. This spawned the rise of a wealthy upper class, who were now in a position to be patrons for humanist scholars and artists. With this support men like Petrarch were able to devote themselves to the pursuit of ancient literature and translating it from Greek to Latin.

The growing discontent with the Roman Church also aided the cause of humanism. As mentioned in chapter one this unrest was stimulated by the widespread practices of nepotism, simony and pluralism along with the Great Schism. The absolute authority of the Church was being questioned and educated people were beginning to turn to the classics as a source of authority.

The One Hundred Years War also played an important role in the advancement of humanism in England. The War made it difficult for men to attend the University of Paris, which was a popular centre for English students. These Englishmen were thus introduced to humanism at its birth place.[1] Some of these men were won to humanism through their studies, while others went to Italian universities because of their interest in humanism. Many of the English students, when they returned to England, were influential promoters of this new learning.

The Conciliar movement of the fifteenth century also motivated the spread of humanism in England. There were several great councils of the Church, with the Council of Ferrare-Florence being considered "one of the greatest meetings of humanists of the period."[2] During these councils Englishmen were exposed to prominent Italian humanists.

An important aspect of this study is its examination of the differences between the moral philosophies of the Italian and English Renaissance. Although no definitive conclusions can be reached, this thesis does suggest a fundamental difference between the moral philosophies of Italy and England. The moral philosophy of the Italian humanists was developed through the study of classical literature in order to provide a secular source for considering moral questions. These humanists were an emerging group of lay moral guides who erected a "secular ideal of virtue and virtuous life alongside the Christian."[3] The important issue is that this development was "not so much in conflict with Christianity as independent of it."[4] The basis for morals was no longer dependent on the Church. Consequently, happiness could be achieved by the individual and the pursuit of happiness could be a legitimate goal for all of life.[5]

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[1] Weiss, R. Humanism in England: During the Fifteenth Century. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Third edition 1967, p. 84.

[2] Charlton, Kenneth. Education in Renaissance England. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, p. 47.

[3] Ferguson, W. K. Renaissance Studies. London, Ont.: Humanities Department of University of Western Ontario, 1963, p. 101.

The moral philosophy of Northern European humanism was inseparably tied to the Bible. This is very clear both in Erasmus' and Colet's writings. Erasmus maintained a balance between religion and humanism. His philosophy encouraged people to pursue humanistic studies, but not as an end in itself, but as a means for gaining wisdom which will benefit them in living a life consecrated to God. This became known as Christian humanism. The discussion of Erasmus and his religious and moral beliefs in chapter two provides many examples to support this notion of the importance of the Bible in his humanistic philosophy.

Colet further distinguished Christian humanism from Italian humanism by his emphasis on the total depravity of man and thus man's inability to provide a solution to this situation on the basis of individual potential and learning. Both Colet and Erasmus felt the study of the classics could aid students in better understanding the Bible.

Another significant difference between Italian and English humanism was in the philosophical traditions each held. Some of the Florentine humanists, specifically Ficino, attempted to harmonize Christian doctrine with other religious and wisdom literature, thus placing all moral doctrine and literature on an equal footing. Colet rejected this idea. They held that the classics could be a source of truth, although the revelation of God in the Bible was superior.

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[4] Bruni, Leonardo. The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Volume 46. Griffiths, Gordon, Hankins, James, and Thompson, David, (translators and introductions). Binghamton, N.Y.: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies State University of New York at Binghamton, 1987, p. 14.

[5] This is very clear in Bruni's An Isagogue of Moral Philosophy.

Colet, as well as northern humanists in general, seem to have sided more with an earlier strand of humanism. Clement of Alexandria (150-213) attempted a fusion of pagan and Christian thought. Although Clement was not the first to do this, he was credited with being the "first to crystallize the proper nature of that approach for later generations."[6] He believed that Greek teaching could lead rationally-minded men to Christ.[7] Augustine (354-430) affirmed Clement's position. The difference between Clement, Augustine and Colet, and the Florentine humanists is that the Clementine approach rejected the "sisterhood" position and held that "the philosophies of the Platonic Tradition must stand in the relation of handmaid to master."[8] This issue could be examined more fully. This thesis explores only the difference between the southern and northern Renaissance as it applies to moral education. However, the discussion does provide a basis for further research.

This study also indicates that there was a connection between the religious climate of society as a whole and the moral teachings that went on in grammar schools. There were parallels between the expectations and in some cases the legislation of church attendance by members in society with grammar school statutes which made church attendance compulsory. Similarly, moral instruction was to be given to members of a household by its head and it was also his responsibility to see that all family members and servants attended church in order to receive instruction in the catechism. The grammar schools also reflected this deep concern for the moral instruction of their students. Further examination could be done as to the relationship between society's moral values and the moral education that took place in schools. This study certainly indicates a close relationship between society and school.

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[6] Miles, Leland. John Colet and the Platonic Tradition. LaSalle, Ill.: 1961, p. 2.

[7] Ibid., p. 3.

[8] Ibid., p. 17.

Finally, this study found an apparent discrepancy between moral philosophy and moral practice in the schools. No conclusive position can be reached but the evidence indicates that many boys were not obviously influenced by the moral philosophy and statutes that supposedly regulated their behavior.

The moral philosophy of Christian humanists, as articulated by Erasmus, Colet and others, saw classical education as an indispensable means for training boys to live virtuous and worthy lives. The curriculum included both ancient literature and contemporary humanistic writers as a resource for moral education. The teacher was to devote time during each lesson to point out moral lessons that could be applied to everyday life. In addition, the grammars of all types and humanist books were saturated with Scripture passages as well as basic moral principles. Furthermore, school statutes set out strict requirements for the moral qualifications of teachers. Church attendance and the study of the catechism were also included in many school statutes.

In general, however, the boys do not seem to have immediately followed all the moral instruction given, though they may well have incorporated it more fully in later life. This issue needs more research and this thesis provides some background for further study in this area.

The founding of grammar schools continued after 1559. Numerous schools were founded during the reign of Queen

Elizabeth and on into the following century. In fact, the golden age of grammar school education and influence was still to come. This study, however, was limited to 1559 because this was the beginning of a shift away from grammar schools being impacted by Renaissance humanism to the schools coming under the influence of puritanism. With this thesis as a foundation, a future study could be under taken which examines the development, theory and practice of moral education during the puritan period.

This thesis contributes to the existing body of knowledge by providing in one document a survey of the development, theory and practical application of moral education in English grammar schools during the early English Renaissance. This study could be used by educators who are researching the philosophy of moral education or those interested in studying curriculum used in moral education during this period.

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